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The Nation

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EDITORIAL

THE POT AND THE KETTLES

The television commercials shown around the country to promote New York City tourism depict Sinatra, Baryshnikov and Minnelli in full-throated or fleet-footed ecstasy as they extol the best of the Big Apple. Escape those little-town blues! What's happening offscreen, however, is far less entertaining. Racial antagonisms smolder everywhere and sometimes burst into flame: after a black graffiti writer was beaten by police and the medical examiner found "no evidence of physical injury . . . contributing to [his] death"; in the wake of the subway vigilante's shooting spree and his subsequent escape from assault charges; and when 10,000 (mostly white) members of the Police Department took to the streets to demonstrate against the manslaughter indictment of the cop who killed an old black woman the housing authorities were evicting.

Blacks widely believe Mayor Ed ("How'm I doing?") Koch has provoked racial tension, while many whites credit him as the champion of their interests. Now Koch is on the offensive. Last week he attacked three leading newspaper columnists—two of them black—as "racist," and he charged that black politicians were mounting a "cabal" to unseat him in November.

The mayoral contest has just begun, and it is already a mess of broken coalitions, confused motives and uncertain candidacies. A white woman, Council President Carol Bellamy, and a black man, State Assemblyman Herman Farrell, have already announced against Koch. If there is a cabal, it's in shabby shape. But race is very much an issue in the campaign, as it has been in all city matters recently, and Koch is far more to blame for that dangerous state of affairs than the people he regularly excoriates. The big-city blues are not yet on TV, but the Mayor should worry what America will see if he keeps up his attacks.

CBS'S DEAL
Alexander Cockburn

THATCHERISM
Christopher Hitchens

HUSSEIN'S PEACE PLAN
Irene Gendzier

ALOHA, PESTICIDES
W.S. Merwin

POPIELUSZKO'S LEGACY
David Ost

GEORGE STEINER
Edward W. Said
Terrence Des Pres

DEMOCRATS LOOK AHEAD

FIGHT OVER DELEGATE RULES FOR '88

ELAINE CIULLA KAMARCK

This spring the Democratic Party will select yet another commission to review the way it nominates Presidential candidates. The latest model, the Fairness Commission, is the party's fifth effort to review its rules in the past sixteen years.

The first of the five, the McGovern-Fraser Commission of 1969, made what Byron Shafer, author of *Quiet Revolution*, called "the most extensive planned change in the process of delegate selection—and hence presidential nomination—in all of American history." It issued rules requiring state parties to codify and publicize their delegate selection rules, encouraged the participation of all those who called themselves Democrats and reduced the influence of elected officials and other members of the party establishment on the nominating process.

Although the magnitude of the reforms was not appreciated at the time, they soon had important consequences. In the 1972 primaries, candidates who failed to understand the new system, notably Edmund Muskie, lost to George McGovern, who understood that the rules favored a strategy of mobilizing voters at the grass roots. Four years later, Jimmy Carter, who also recognized the importance of early tests of popular strength, beat candidates like Senator Henry Jackson, who entered the race too late. While the rules did not guarantee that any candidate who concentrated on winning popular support would win the nomination, they weeded out those who could not run that sort of campaign.

The McGovern-Fraser Commission was an effort by reformers to democratize party procedures and to involve people who had been left

(Continued on page 241)

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LETTERS.

WRITING WRONGS

Lancaster, England

Alexander Cockburn's "Beat the Devil" of December 22 is clearly intended to imply that I have been dishonest, referring, for example, to my "parsimony with the truth."

On the question of whether Noam Chomsky threatened libel action in connection with my entry in Lord Bullock's biographical dictionary, I had what I believe would normally be regarded as a fully adequate ground for my assertion. Lord Bullock's assistant, R.B. Woodings, told me that such a threat had been made; he confirmed the point when I queried it. Neither Lord Bullock nor Woodings corrected me when I reconfirmed the point to both of them in writing, while they did go to some pains to correct a mistake of detail on my part about their personal liability for possible libel damages. I took them to be telling the truth. Evidently they were not. I now accept that Chomsky did not make the threat. I greatly regret having written that he did.

But, while Bullock and Woodings behaved very poorly, I cannot see that what Chomsky did was as innocent as Cockburn suggests. In *The New Republic*, Chomsky quoted a passage from his correspondence with Bullock. Its hectoring tone ("I trust that you will . . . see to it that this scurrilous material is removed, forthwith, and with appropriate notification of the fact") would naturally lead a literary person to fear a writ if "appropriate notification" were not forthcoming. Cockburn says that Bullock took it that way, and Chomsky must have known how he was likely to take it. These are not the words of a man who, believing he has been wronged, acknowledges no weapon other than the power of persuasion as available in order to right the wrong. In other words, Chomsky seems to have had his cake and eaten it too. He got his dictionary entry purged by putting the fear of libel into the editor, while being able to claim, as a supporter of absolute freedom of expression, that he did not mention libel. I suggested in *The New Criterion* that Chomsky had been grossly hypocritical. Does Cockburn dispute that?

Perhaps Cockburn feels that Chomsky's action was justified on the ground that my dictionary entry was unfair. To a genuine believer in freedom of expression that would be irrelevant even if true. In any case, it is not true. Much of my entry was laudatory. The few critical words were fully justified: to say less would have been a whitewash. Cockburn apparently accepts Chomsky's current version of the Robert Faurisson episode, according to which all Chomsky did was support Faurisson's freedom to express his views, no matter how daft or offensive they may be. If that were all Chomsky had done, I might have applauded him myself, but the truth is that Chomsky's support for Faurisson went well beyond that in a number of respects—all carefully detailed in my *New Criterion* article, which Cockburn overlooks. In recent statements about what he said about Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, Chomsky seems to be trying to rewrite history. Although Cockburn believes the current version, few others do. . . .

I do not believe that a supporter of free speech is under any duty to cover up Chomsky's asinine behavior in the Faurisson episode. More important, I believe that Chomsky's public attitudes in the last few years have often run directly counter to the libertarian principles he professes to espouse, thus making those principles seem less compelling to a skeptical, unlibertarian world. I acknowledge Cockburn's right to write about me as he has done, but I do not believe it does him any credit. *Geoffrey Sampson*

COCKBURN REPLIES

New York City

This letter is a useful example of Geoffrey Sampson's squalid intellectual procedures. Expressions of contrition in his first paragraph are mingled with attempts to shuffle all the blame on Lord Bullock and R.B. Woodings. But by the end of his second paragraph Sampson is back to his old tricks, suggesting that Chomsky did after all insinuate a threat of libel into his letters of protest to Bullock. It is as if the editor of *The Nation* were to tell me that Sampson's letter demonstrated a resolve to sue and I, without asking to read the letter, wrote a 7,500-word article in another journal denouncing Sampson's "rush to law" and accusing him of intellectual censorship. It may sound absurd, but that is exactly what Sampson did.

To the baseless charge of Chomsky's attempt to suppress free speech by threat of legal action Sampson added—and now continues to assert—the slanders that Chomsky minimized Khmer Rouge atrocities and went "well beyond" simple support of Faurisson's right to free speech. There is no basis for such charges, and Sampson has supplied none. Sampson's parsimony with the truth continues unimpaired and indeed is now rendered all the more signal by his strange view that it was somehow discreditable for me to have drawn attention to his lies. *Alexander Cockburn*

WRONG, WRONG, WRONG

New York City

Martin Garbus's article on the Sharon verdict, "Wrong Case, Wrong Place, Wrong Result," is itself wrong [Feb. 16].

The jury was not "expected to ascertain who was responsible" for the Sabra and Shatila massacres. That was not the "key issue," as Garbus asserts. The key issue was the truth of the defamatory statement by *Time* that Minister Ariel Sharon "consciously intended to permit the Phalangists to take acts of revenge, extending to the deliberate killing of noncombatants in the camps." The jury found *Time*'s statement false.

Garbus's criticism of the judge's charge defining malice is absurd. Judge Abraham Sofaer meticulously followed the law in his charge, and the lawyers for both sides agreed with it. Garbus mistakes his target. He disagrees with the law; so do many others, including this writer. But the judge skillfully applied the law as he was required to do.

Garbus criticizes the jury's statement that *Time* employees were careless and negligent. He writes, "Who asked them?" No one. The jurors unanimously felt the need to add that amplification to their verdict. Aside from *Time* and Martin Garbus, commentators have generally congratulated the jury for its statement. Garbus's disagreement with the substance of the jury's statement is no reason to challenge the jury's right to make it. *Bernard D. Fischman*
Shea & Gould

Shea & Gould represented Ariel Sharon in his libel suit against Time.

GARBUS REPLIES

New York City

Bernard D. Fischman and I disagree on how juries in libel cases arrive at their decisions. They look at all the issues presented to them by the judge—both the narrow and the broad ones. They set out to do justice. Based on their remarks after the verdict was announced, I believe the jurors in the Sharon case sought to learn if Sharon was responsible for the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

I did not say that the judge did not follow the law or that he was not careful. I said just the opposite: that the sixty-six-page charge was "meticulous." My point was that the present legal concept of malice is inadequate and dangerous and that no matter how precisely malice was defined, the jury could not have applied it to the Sharon case.

Fischman's claim that "the jurors unanimously felt the need to add that amplification to their verdict" precisely supports my main argument. In expressing what they thought to be their very important opinion on the issues before them, they went beyond the charge, beyond what the judge, and the law, had asked them to do. *Martin Garbus*

CORRECTION

Paul N. Edwards, author of "Are 'Intelligent Weapons' Feasible?" [Feb. 2], should have been identified as a graduate student at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

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EDITORIALS.

History on Trial

Gen. William Westmoreland ended his lawsuit against CBS in the same way he, and his government, ended their war in Vietnam: without grace, apology or the slightest admission of the magnitude of the loss. Westmoreland's abrupt pullout—a week before the $120 million libel suit was scheduled to go to the jury—recalled that hectic day in Saigon almost ten years ago when Americans raced to the roof of the embassy and flew off in a swarm of helicopters, leaving behind a devastated country, a wasted fortune and a ruined imperial policy. The official deception in those years was that America had achieved Peace with Honor. Westmoreland's personal deception last week was that he had won his case, made his point and saved his honor.

Indeed, deception has characterized General Westmoreland's behavior from the earliest days of the war to his pathetic performances on talk shows and interview programs after his last surrender. As the CBS film reported, and as the general himself indicated at the trial, he never un-

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derstood the nature of guerrilla war and nationalist liberation. He underestimated the enemy's strength because he did not know the enemy. After the Tet offensive of 1968 he called the Vietnamese victory a defeat because he was unable to comprehend the political quality of the military conflict. CBS's claim that Westmoreland deliberately deceived President Johnson about the opposing army's size may well be true; the testimony at the trial (some of it from his closest aides in Saigon) was confirming the network's account when Westmoreland cried, Enough. But he may have deceived himself even more. He simply could not believe that many in the native population presumably under his control were soldiers in a revolution his supremely powerful nation was helpless to destroy.

Westmoreland's costly suit, estimated at $3.5 million, was subsidized by the right-wing Capital Legal Foundation. The foundation's interests were political and represented the conservatives' campaign to revise the history of the war in Vietnam and the popular movement to end it in America. Certainly the Vietnamese won overseas, as did the protesters at home. But their victory was incomplete. They did not have the power to establish the true record of the period beyond their borders and after their time had passed.

The forces that invaded Indochina, waged the war and fought political dissent on the home front will find more ways to rewrite the history of their mischief, to rationalize their lies, to draw specious lessons and fabricate morals. The stratagem of chilling the "liberal media" with an outrageous libel suit may have lost its appeal for the moment, but there are other ways of manipulating the culture. Reagan's patriotic rhetoric regularly denies the reality of the American past, not only in Vietnam but wherever the winds of cold war have blown. The deception continues, which is to say that the war at home is not over.

CBS Surrenders

True as always to their corporate function, the CBS high command chose self-interest over Aristotle, whose dramatic precepts clearly required a courtroom finale instead of a backstairs surrender. When Gen. William Westmoreland's lawyer Dan Burt made a first, strings-attached secret plea for a cease-fire, the CBS legal team, headed by David Boies, argued against acceptance, on the ground that Westmoreland's case was a shambles: bomb him back to the Stone Age, let the jury decide.

When Burt finally threw in the towel on all but court costs, the CBS executives saw no reason to gamble. Aside from the possibility of a rogue juror, and perhaps the reluctance of Mike Wallace to testify (such testimony could have revealed Wallace as a script reader rather than as the fearless investigator of *60 Minutes* mythology), there was another reason for snatching compromise from the jaws of victory. CBS wanted to avoid the total humiliation of Westmoreland: a second trashing of old Westy by an uppity network would have aroused public indignation. This reluctance (along with the collapse of any spirited current affairs programming from CBS these days) signals the extent to which intimidation by libel suit has worked, just as it worked in the same Federal courthouse a few weeks earlier, when *Time* chose not to mount an aggressive defense against Ariel Sharon.

In its statement on the settlement, CBS says that it "never intended to assert, and does not believe" that Westmoreland was "unpatriotic or disloyal in performing his duties as he saw them." But that is exactly what George Crile's documentary implied, with Gen. Joseph A. McChristian's assertion that Westmoreland had distorted intelligence in the interests of political public relations and thus had flouted the West Point code: "Duty, Honor, Country."

Everyone from Judge Pierre Leval to Anthony Lewis is now saying, in the judge's words, that issues in the Westmoreland case were "too subtle and too complex . . . too subject to debate and disagreement to be resolved by any legally constituted authority." That is nonsense. It took courtroom procedures, prolonged interrogation of witnesses under oath, to halt a right-wing crusade and show that CBS's attempt to denigrate Westmoreland was entirely justified. In no other venue in mid-1980s America could that have been done. CBS spent about $5 million to prove what the jury could have learned for free in any campus teach-in of the mid- to late 1960s: that what was being fought in Vietnam was a people's war, and Westmoreland's Order of Battle, which counted only North Vietnamese "infiltrators," was a political and military fantasy. The phrase Tet "offensive" caters too much to the official U.S. propaganda about infiltration; there was a national uprising by South Vietnamese against the U.S. occupation.

The irony of the trial and of the right-wing crusade against CBS is that both Westmoreland and Crile advanced impeccably reactionary propositions: Westmoreland's, that "we" won but were betrayed by the media; Crile's, that "we" could have won but were betrayed by the generals and the politicians. Crile's protagonist, C.I.A. analyst Sam Adams, testified that "at least a third" of the names on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington were killed by "people not in the O.B. [i.e., guerrillas]. . . . when intelligence has failed that badly, I think what brought that about ought to come to light, so we don't repeat the same mistake."

What neither Adams nor anyone else mentioned was that after Tet the U.S. military realized its mistake and decided not to repeat it. It concluded that a people's war was being waged and in a people's war you kill the people. After Tet the United States turned toward genocide, with the huge pacification program, saturation bombings and massacres of the civilian population in the South, with the Phoenix program, with Operation Speedy Express, Operation Bold Mariner and the others which wiped out thousands of Vietnamese, including most of the National Liberation Front. In a moral world Westmoreland would be on trial for war crimes, along with most of the people who testified during the trial for each side. It was Lieut. Gen. William Peers, in charge of the My Lai investigation, who wrote Westmoreland stingingly that if there is a pattern of misconduct, the

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commander is as responsible as if he had ordered the crime himself.

A libel trial, by definition, is about what can and cannot be said, about the limits of discourse. In the Westmoreland trial, the Vietnamese had no existence as the victims of a horrifying war waged by the United States and carried forward under the military leadership of Westmoreland. Nor were the Palestinian victims of Sabra and Shatila permitted existence in Sharon's courtroom. Not in a courtroom or anywhere else can the United States in its present phase look history honestly in the eye. ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Proxy President

José Napoleón Duarte's election last year was hailed by many as the beginning of an era of democracy in El Salvador and a stunning triumph for U.S. policy. The search for an elusive center begun under the Carter Administration had finally ended. The Reagan Administration could at last claim to have found an untarnished ally in its war against "communist subversion," and Congressional opposition to extending military aid crumbled.

Eight months later, Duarte appears to be less an ally of the United States than an instrument of U.S. policy. He has had remarkable success in lobbying Congress to approve dramatic increases in military aid and to drop all binding conditions on its appropriation. But at home, Duarte is at the mercy of forces beyond his control.

The National Assembly is dominated by extreme right-wing parties determined to block reforms. Most recently, the Assembly slashed the executive branch's budget, eliminating the commissions that had been investigating corruption and human rights abuses and causing Duarte to complain that he can barely afford to light the presidential palace. By his own admission, Duarte has no authority or influence over the judiciary, whose members are appointed by the Assembly for five-year terms and are controlled by the far right. His inaugural pledge to punish those responsible for political assassinations remains unfulfilled, and 1985 has started with an alarming increase in death squad activity.

The armed forces, El Salvador's traditional guarantor of political stability and economic privilege, continue to set the parameters of civilian power. Duarte's skill in procuring millions in military aid is critical to the war effort. But his two rounds of peace talks with the guerrillas in 1984 sent shudders through the military and nearly resulted in a December coup. The armed forces have since set such strict limits on the scope of those talks that they may never resume in a useful way.

Duarte's only chance for broadening the powers of his ·sidency is through a Christian Democratic victory in the ·ns scheduled for March 31. At stake are all sixty seats tional Assembly, as well as 231 mayoral posts. But ·ptimists in Duarte's camp predict that his party only two to three seats at best, not enough to ·ght wing's hold.

The U.S. government, which contributed close to $1 million to Duarte's presidential campaign through C.I.A. channels, might be expected to place its hopes, if not its money, on the Christian Democrats. But in a recent meeting with a visiting U.S. delegation, a high-ranking official at the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador expressed the opposite view. A continued Christian Democratic minority in the Assembly would preserve a system of checks and balances, he said. "Duarte will have to learn how to make compromises with the business community, the military and the political parties of the right."

Indeed, U.S. policies are partly responsible for Duarte's declining popularity and his party's grim prospects in the upcoming elections. U.S. pressure has brought Reaganomics to El Salvador, in the form of benefits to large landowners and exporters and deep cuts in government spending at the expense of the poor. Duarte and his party have paid a high political price for those U.S.-imposed policies, designed to placate the right. Protesting a wage freeze that began in 1981, labor unions organized several successful strikes last year, only to see their gains erased by rising consumer costs. In addition, the failure of the peace talks has frustrated those who voted for Duarte in 1984 as the "peace candidate."

Meanwhile, the war continues. Increasingly heavy bombing is driving civilians from guerrilla-contested zones in ever greater numbers. Refugee camps inside El Salvador and in neighboring countries now house hundreds of thousands of them. U.S. officials predict that within two years the war will be over, the guerrilla threat reduced to a "nuisance." But if Duarte continues to rule as a reluctant proxy for the right and if negotiations with the left are not resumed, El Salvador's war is probably just beginning. JANET SHENK

Janet Shenk, a staff writer with the North American Congress on Latin America, travels frequently to El Salvador.

FOR DOCTORS ONLY

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—Editorial, *Medical Economics*, December 24, 1984

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DISPATCHES.

■ ARMENIA: The Renegade Patriarch

A financial scandal involving the Armenian Apostolic Church has prompted calls for the resignation of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Archbishop Yeghishe Derderian. In August 1983, a five-man church auditing committee issued a report charging the Archbishop with impropriety in handling church funds. *The Armenian Reporter*, a weekly which circulates in the expatriate community and which published the committee's findings, charged in an editorial that a thorough audit would reveal that the Archbishop had diverted as much as $10 million for his personal use. Last April, Derderian issued an eighty-page response denying that he had misappropriated church funds.

The controversy was placed in the lap of His Holiness Vazken I, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, who rules the church from Etchmiadzin, in Soviet Armenia. Vazken procrastinated for many months, and when he did act, it was because of pressure from an unusual quarter: the Jordanian government.

Authorities in Amman were reportedly angered by evidence in the committee's report that the Jerusalem patriarchate has been selling church land to the Israelis [see "Dispatches," January 1-8, 1983]. The Jordanian Ambassador to the Soviet Union sent Vazken two reports critical of Derderian, which implied that King Hussein might revoke the royal decree confirming Derderian's election to the patriarchy in the early 1960s. The Armenian church does not recognize the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and considers Hussein to be the legitimate secular authority in Jerusalem.

Last September Vazken finally released a statement confirming that the Archbishop had been guilty of financial irregularities. Vazken then called on Derderian to convene the St. James Brotherhood, the governing body of the Jerusalem patriarchate, to "identify those responsible for the wrong-doing."

One might think that would have caused Derderian to resign, but he fought back. Under the bylaws of the brotherhood, a meeting can be called either by Derderian or by two-thirds of the membership. In December, Derderian dismissed seven members of the brotherhood serving overseas, all of whom were critical of him. That left the fifteen members who reside in Jerusalem, all of whom are loyal to the Archbishop. Now it is thought that Derderian will ignore Vazken's order and refuse to convene the governing body.

Vazken admits he is powerless to unseat Derderian: "I have no army to enforce my decisions or a decision to defrock the patriarch."

■ NATO: As the Ratchet Turns

Warnings of a massive Soviet arms buildup have become a constant refrain of the Reagan Administration, and the U.S. press rarely questions them. Yet a dissent of sorts has been raised by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Buried in an otherwise unremarkable publication titled *NATO and the Warsaw Pact* is an interesting appraisal of Soviet military spending. According to the report, from 1970 to 1976, the years of détente, spending increased annually by about 5 percent in real terms. Since 1976:

> Overall growth of Soviet military spending is estimated to have declined to less than half the annual average rate of the early 1970s. This slowdown mainly reflects a less rapid rate of growth in procurement expenditure although a decline in rate of growth can also be observed in other categories of expenditure.

That even this small note of disagreement with the Administration line can be found in a study signed by NATO Secretary General Joseph M.A.H. Luns is surprising. Luns, who retired recently, was always regarded as a man who marched to the American tune. Perhaps this glint of nonconformity is a harbinger of more independent analysis of Soviet military power under Luns's successor, former British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington. If not, those statistics at least illuminate what many observers have called the ratchet effect in the Soviet-American arms race. Having decelerated their military buildup, Soviet hard-liners will now point to Caspar Weinberger's mammoth budget as justification for a new speed-up; Weinberger's successor will cry wolf over the Soviet acceleration to justify further increases, prompting the Kremlin to . . .

■ SOVIET UNION: C.I.A. Profiles

So little is known about Soviet leaders that the smallest bit of gossip is worthy of attention. Recently, "Dispatches" obtained a number of classified profiles of Soviet officials, including Konstantin Chernenko, prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency. We would like to share two morsels of Langley gossip, one about the ailing leader and one about a prominent figure in the next generation of Soviet leadership.

Of Chernenko, the profile says:

> He came to this country in April, 1974, as a member of the Soviet delegation to a special session of the U.N. General Assembly. During his stay he also visited the Department of State to observe its office procedures, management tools and automatic data processing systems. U.S. officials who met him on that visit found Chernenko to be an extroverted, unsophisticated individual who readily engaged in small talk.

Sounds like a good match for President Reagan.

Another C.I.A. assessment has this to say about the editor of *Pravda*, Viktor Afanas'yev:

> While Afanas'yev has no direct career ties with any member of the Soviet leadership, he probably has few detractors among them: Whether from personal conviction or a recognition of the political realities, he has remained a steadfast "middle-of-the-roader" during recent years, his views apparently consistent with the official consensus. An illustration of Afanas'yev's typically balanced approach is his star on the application of technology to economic manage While advocating the widespread use of compute management tool (a fairly progressive idea in the S text), he has balanced that stand with a warning cians in charge of those computers must always that techni- Soviet con- ers as a ment: ain under id

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KAI BIRD AND MAX HOLLAND

close party control. . . . according to Boris Strel'nikov, a *Pravda* commentator on U.S. affairs, Afanas'yev is a dandy and the butt of many jokes; his clothes, manners, and taste in food and women are all subjects of considerable gossip. Strel'nikov hastened to add, however, that Afanas' yev is an extremely able chief editor.

■ U.S.: The Mengele Hunt—and Beyond

Bowing to heavy pressure, Attorney General William French Smith has finally ordered a full-scale investigation into the whereabouts of the notorious Nazi war criminal Dr. Josef Mengele. According to documents obtained from the Army under the Freedom of Information Act by the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, the Auschwitz physician may have been arrested by U.S. authorities in Austria in 1947 and subsequently released. It is believed that he fled to South America and that now, at 73, he lives in a restricted military compound in Paraguay.

If the allegations about U.S. complicity in Mengele's flight prove correct, echoing the results of the Justice Department's investigation into the Klaus Barbie case, the questions about the U.S. government's postwar policies toward Nazis will be raised to a new pitch of urgency.

One of the first questions is why several government agencies were working at cross-purposes. Documents in the Harry S. Truman Library show that during the same period that Army Intelligence was hiding Barbie and allegedly releasing Mengele, State Department officials had discovered a plan to organize a network of Nazis and their sympathizers to rebuild "German war potential outside of [Germany]." An October 10, 1946, memorandum to Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton states:

> The department has recently obtained confirmation of previous reports that a plan was in existence to smuggle German "activists" from Spain to Argentina. Many Abwehr agents are known to be at liberty in Argentina. Others, such as Juan Sindreu Cavatorta, a Spaniard, and Helmuth Johannes Christian Carl Reuther, have recently been traced there.

According to the memo, a former Nazi agent picked up for questioning by U.S. authorities "admitted that the German military intelligence service, Abwehr, survived in skeleton form in Spain and that it had been provided with funds to keep itself operative in Argentina until relations between the Allied Nations 'deteriorate to the point of war.'"

The State Department memo demonstrates that the issue was not simply one of preventing the establishment of old-boy networks of Nazi sympathizers. The memo quotes from a document, dated August 30, 1944, that makes clear that the dying Hitler regime worked closely with German industrialists on a plan to safeguard "'German interests' in the technical and engineering field in the Western Hemisphere." A cover organization called the Standards Commission was set up chiefly to "assure control of Argentine engineering and heavy industry from Germany." On its board were representatives from such firms as Krupp, AEG, Wayss Y Freytag and Deutz, which were "all dedicated to the survival of German war potential outside of Germany during Allied control of the homeland."

■ NICARAGUA: No Friend at the I.D.B.

In pursuing its goal to unseat the Sandinista government, the Reagan Administration has violated the primary rule of multilateral development banks: lending decisions must not be based on political criteria. For years, Jose Manuel Casanova, the U.S. representative to the Inter-American Development Bank, has successfully stalled a $59.8 million loan to Nicaraguan farmers. Most recently, the dilatory tactics received a boost from Secretary of State George Shultz.

Nicaragua applied for the money, which would finance crops of corn, beans, rice, cotton and coffee, in June 1982. More than two years passed, and no loan was forthcoming. Anxiety over the delays began to be expressed in official minutes of meetings of the bank's executive directors. According to a confidential transcript dated November 14, 1984, J. Alexey de Synegub of Guatemala, who represents the Central American countries, complained, "This [application] was submitted a long time ago. . . . Inasmuch as the growing season is drawing near, they [Nicaraguan officials] would be quite worried if the negotiations should not advance." Bent W. Christensen, executive director for the Western European representatives, told the board, "I wish to record deep concern at the continuing problems which are affecting the approval of I.D.B. loans to Nicaragua."

The problem facing Casanova is that the loan has been approved by the I.D.B.'s loan committee and would undoubtedly command majority support if it came up for a vote. At this point, the only sure-fire way for the United States to block such a vote is to refuse to attend any meeting that has the Nicaraguan loan on the agenda. Holders of 75 percent of the bank's voting stock must be present for a quorum of the executive board, and the United States controls 35 percent of that stock. A U.S. boycott of a meeting, however, would shake the bank to its very foundations. Even the Reagan Administration is hesitant about destroying the I.D.B. for the sake of venting its animus toward the Sandinistas.

Enter the Secretary of State. Aware that efforts to thwart the board's majority were about to fail, Shultz sent a personal letter to I.D.B. president Antonio Ortiz Mena on January 30, asking that consideration of the loan be set aside because Nicaragua does not have a prudent plan of economic development and is therefore not creditworthy. Such a direct intervention for political reasons is unprecedented.

Although the letter puts immense pressure on the bank, the bank's directors have little recourse but to reject Shultz's argument and let the loan proceed—eventually. But Shultz's purpose is to delay a decision. Any loan approved later than the end of March will come too late for the next planting season. If Shultz's letter succeeds in postponing action, the Reagan Administration will be able to claim a victory.

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

London

To celebrate the ten years since the British Conservative Party chose her as its leader, Margaret Thatcher recently granted an interview to Peter Jay on the television program "Week in Politics." It seemed to Jay that a Prime Minister who can live with 3.2 million jobless (nearly 13.4 percent) ought to say what she thinks the "natural" level of unemployment should be. Thatcher's reply was stupefying even by her standards. That there is such a level, she claimed, is

> not a doctrine to which I've subscribed. It's one which I think actually came in with Milton Friedman. I used to read about it. . . . It's a theory to which I've never subscribed.

This is the double-distilled essence of today's Thatcherism, both as theory and as practice. To pretend that she thinks the idea came in with Milton Friedman, who merely revived what used to be ruling-class doctrine, is to be *faux naif*. To say that she's never subscribed to it is simple dishonesty: a decade ago, campaigning for the Tory leadership, she said Friedman should be adopted wholesale. But perhaps most objectionable, in a woman with a greatly hyped reputation for forthrightness, is the note of evasion. "I used to read about it" indeed. Margarine wouldn't melt in her mouth.

Even so, a commonplace among editorialists is that Thatcher's government is a monetarist one. Actually it is committed to cutting only certain kinds of spending. Most of the time it is a spendthrift regime, which has printed money with great abandon and heaped it in sackfuls down great sinkholes marked Trident Missile System ($9 billion) and Fortress Falklands ($190 million for the airport link alone). Other vast and wasteful projects have caused the Treasury's borrowing needs to swell grossly, a fact that would be more obvious if it were not for the lucky circumstance of short-term oil revenues from the North Sea. The only deflationary weapon known to the Conservatives is unemployment. The dole queue is used to discipline the labor market, break the trade unions and instill the proper sense of conformity in school-leavers. It is fear of permanent, not seasonal, unemployment that has kept the mineworkers on strike for almost a year, and it is the same terror that has almost broken the strike as I write.

This policy has poisoned the atmosphere of Britain. Every day's perusal of the news is more sordid and depressing than the previous day's. A Minister for Employment speaks of black immigrants and the need to "send them back to Bongo-Bongo land." He keeps his job. A senior civil servant is accused of leaking state papers on the sinking of the Argentine cruiser General Belgrano and is arraigned under the medieval Official Secrets Act. He claims correctly that he was exposing high-level fraud and deceit, and despite flagrant bias on the part of the judge, a jury acquits him. He is promptly sacked. Rock musicians who donated their talent for a best-selling album to help Ethiopia are told that the proceeds will be subject to tax. A peaceful encampment near a proposed U.S. cruise missile site is flattened by truckloads of heavily armed troops, and Secretary of Defense Michael Heseltine struts onto the scene in a flak jacket.

What can be said on the positive side? Surely by now the Thatcherites ought to be able to point to something. Mandated to bring about national renewal, they have had the best part of a decade to show results. Yet the outcome is a declining country which has stabilized only its own inequalities and which means "the safety of the past" when it speaks of "the challenge of the future."

Everything has been tried, or everything a conservative can try has been tried. Businessmen have been granted virtual exemption from taxation, yet they stubbornly refuse to invest. Public utilities have been sold off at highly compassionate prices, yet services continue to decline. The pound has been devalued to the level of a joke currency, but the export advantage that this supposedly confers has never been realized. Public spending has been cut again and again—to the point where even Conservative-dominated local governments are beginning to protest the collapse of roads, schools, hospitals and drainage systems—yet the interest rates continue to rise. A generation is growing up amid dilapidation and despair, with diminishing expectations and contracting horizons. Punk culture, with its emphasis on nihilism and cynicism, is still an affectation among youths in America and Germany. Here it is a reflection of reality.

Faced with all this, even Thatcher and her team have begun to fray and babble. Senior Conservatives, like the admittedly ludicrous figure of Harold Macmillan, are saying that nineteenth-century remedies failed even in the nineteenth century. Tory M.P.s report *angst* among the loyalists at the grass roots. And Thatcher tells Peter Jay:

> I've tried . . . by having tax incentives, by having share option schemes . . . we'll only get more people employed by the creation of more small businesses and more self-employment. . . . The United States has free enterprise built into her constitution. She has no socialist party and no danger of ever having one. . . . She is the last safe haven, everyone's safe haven for their money.

Give me your pounds, your lira and your francs . . . It is precisely because of the drawing power of the United States that the pound is approaching parity with the dollar and British interest rates are rising. That in turn is why Thatcher's small-business utopia is being destroyed, with more bankruptcies posted every week. Even the crippling expenditure on the insane Trident missile must be made in dollars and earned in devalued pounds. There's a certain satisfaction to be found in the fact that Thatcher has been betrayed by her friend Ronald Reagan, but there's nothing satisfying about the results. In the United States there is talk of the frightening deficit and the bad business of passing on a dud mortgage to our children. Economists speak gravely of the imprudence of eating the seed corn. In Britain, where the romance with neoconservatism is wearing off, the seed corn has already been eaten.

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ARTICLES.

LETTER FROM JORDAN

Is Hussein's Peace Plan Doomed?

IRENE GENDZIER

Amman, Jordan

The political mood in Jordan is grim. When Middle East politics are discussed, the sense of frustration is almost palpable. There is widespread disillusionment with U.S. policies in the region, and many here feel that time is running out for a solution to the Palestinian question.

If a negotiated settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not achieved soon, Jordanians argue, there will be increased violence, extremism and political fragmentation throughout the Middle East. And if a negotiated settlement is to be achieved, they maintain, it must come through an international conference with all interested parties participating, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Soviet Union.

Jordanians ask a number of questions about U.S. involvement in the region: Why is the United States so recalcitrant about supporting King Hussein's call for such a meeting? American diplomats know full well that Jordanian strategy is based on a position largely accepted by the international community. Why doesn't Washington support Jordan instead of undermining its efforts? Why doesn't it respond to P.L.O. feelers for negotiations? Why can't it abandon the rejectionism that prevents it from playing a significant role in bringing the Israeli-P.L.O. conflict to an end?

Confirmation of the pessimistic mood here is not difficult to find. Daily accounts of Israeli colonization and repression on the West Bank reinforce fears among Jordan's Palestinian population that annexation will become an accepted fact and that their brethren will be forcibly expelled. In the ranks of the P.L.O. the legacy of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon continues to take its toll, deepening the divisions in the organization and affecting its political direction.

The murder of Fahad Kawasmeh by unidentified assailants last December has deepened the sense of crisis and bitterness. Kawasmeh, the Mayor of Hebron until his expulsion by the Israelis in 1980, had been elected to the P.L.O. Executive Committee shortly before his death. His presence in that body held immense significance for both his West Bank constituents and for the organization.

Given the Jordanian government's policy—support for Palestinian self-determination abroad and opposition to Palestinian activism at home—these events are seen as issues of compelling national significance. Resolving the Palestinian question is supported not only in the interest of justice but also in the interest of Jordanian stability. Where Jordanian and Palestinian interests have clashed, however, the latter have suffered. Today, Jordanian strategy is forged in the shadow of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. It is shaped by social movements whose existence is evidence of growing popular discontent. Islamic fundamentalism is gaining ground in Jordan, where it is alternately supported and contained by the state.

Jordanian policy on the Palestinian question masks several predicaments. Committed to a strategy of negotiated settlement, it is faced with Israeli rejectionism, which has been consistently seconded by the United States. P.L.O. pronouncements that indicate an interest in a negotiated settlement are treated with indifference. U.S. and Israeli attitudes have reinforced the position of groups in the P.L.O. which argue that nothing can be expected of Israel or the United States, or of "moderate" Arab regimes such as Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Last week's discussion of the Middle East by the United States and the Soviet Union in Vienna did not signal a change in U.S. policy on the Palestinian question.

The Jordanian dilemma can be stated another way. Despite Jordan's diverse economic and military ties with other countries, it remains dependent on the United States. Yet it asks Washington to pressure Israel for concessions, which the Israelis reject, with U.S. approval. In short, Jordan has no clout with the United States on the Palestinian question. Its pro-American policy has been unrewarded in this arena.

DRAWINGS BY MONICA INCISA

Irene Gendzier, an associate professor of history at Boston University's African Studies Center, is the author of Managing Political Change: Social Scientists in the Third World *(Westview Press).*

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Other Arab regimes beholden to the United States are in a similar situation. None of the so-called moderate regimes have made the Palestinian question the determining issue in their relations with the United States. Their passivity during the invasion of Lebanon is proof of their willingness to tolerate U.S. complicity with Israel.

Current Jordanian policy was outlined here last November at the opening session of the Palestine National Council [see Scott MacLeod, "Al Fatah Is Now Running the Show," *The Nation*, December 29, 1984–January 5, 1985]. King Hussein called for a joint Jordanian-Palestinian strategy based on U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and emphasizing "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every state in the area can live in security." Since that time, efforts have been directed toward working out a common program with the P.L.O., generating support in Arab and Islamic states, reinvigorating a European initiative in the region and dealing with American policy.

Although the P.L.O. repeated its rejection of U.N. Resolution 242 at the council session (because the resolution fails to recognize Palestinian self-determination and the quest for statehood), it endorsed the Jordanian strategy of a negotiated settlement. The P.L.O. also reiterated its support for the Fez plan, which was developed at the Arab League conference held in Morocco in 1982. That plan calls for Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza, the establishment of a Palestinian state in those territories and guarantees of the security of all states in the region. In December and January a series of high-level meetings between Jordanian and P.L.O. officials were held to discuss a common program. Recent announcements suggest that a compromise has been reached between the two.

Meanwhile, Palestinians here continue to hope for a reconciliation between the main body of the P.L.O. and the four left-wing P.L.O. groups that formed the Democratic Alliance in Damascus and that refused to attend the P.N.C. meeting here. Those who favor reconciliation see the loss of Democratic Alliance members as adversely affecting the representative character and the political direction of the organization. King Hussein has not allowed the Palestinian split to impede his diplomatic efforts, but he made a serious miscalculation in assuming that the Saudi Arabian government would be willing to overlook it, as well as disagreements among the Arab nations, and accept his call for an Arab summit. Riyadh opposed such a summit, but Hussein went ahead and announced a Jordanian-Palestinian plan for one, at which the Arab countries would attempt to adopt a common position on the Palestinian issue.

Although Jordanian officials are critical of European indifference to the Middle East, they see some positive signs: European endorsement of U.N. Resolution 242; French, Italian and English willingness to support an amendment to the resolution that would accommodate Palestinian interests; and evidence that those countries would support the idea of an international conference. Italy sent Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti and other high-level officials to the Middle East, and Jordan was on their itinerary. In January former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky proposed a synthesis of the Fez and Reagan plans, the U.N. resolution and the Soviet proposal for an international conference.

Jordanians are disappointed by the reluctance of European governments to take a more aggressive interest in the Palestinian question, but they express bitterness about U.S. policies, which they regard as insulting to their country's and other Arab countries' interests. They support the government's attempts to distance itself from the United States—witness the publicity given recent discussions with Moscow concerning the purchase of arms. King Hussein's open denunciation of U.S. Middle East policy has struck a responsive chord among his people. Although Jordanian discontent has not been heeded in Washington, the American connection remains vital at the highest level of government here, where dissatisfaction with U.S. policy is tempered by the hope for change.

Pronouncements on the Middle East by former and present U.S. State Department officials are covered in the Jordanian press. When two of them dismissed the proposal for an international conference, indicating it would be unproductive, the media carried stories saying that nothing could be expected from the United States. But calls for new U.S. moves on the Palestinian question by former Representative Pete McCloskey and Representative George Crockett drew sympathetic comment.

Considerably more attention was paid to the interview given by Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Richard Murphy to the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al Qabas*, which was reported in the Jordanian press. While in Amman, Murphy had repeated the stock U.S. position. In Kuwait he went a good deal further, reporting on talks he had had with a prominent Palestinian figure prior to the opening of the P.N.C. session. (The U.S. Embassy here promptly denied that the meeting ever took place.) The *Jordan Times* reported that Murphy "has urged the Palestine Liberation Organization to accept 'mutual recognition' with Israel." The story went on to say that the Palestinian with whom Murphy talked expressed "the P.L.O. keenness to have a dialogue with the U.S." According to the same source, it was suggested that Washington initiate such a dialogue with two of the recent appointees to the P.L.O. Executive Committee, Mohammed Milhelm and Fahad Kawasmeh. According to the Kuwaiti newspaper, Murphy met with Kawasmeh before the opening of the P.N.C. session. Regarding American intentions toward the P.L.O., Murphy told Kawasmeh that any discussions with Washington would have to be preceded by the repeal of the P.L.O. Charter's call for military struggle against Israel and by the organization's formal recognition of Israel. As reported in the *Jordan Times*, Kawasmeh asked, "In return for what?" Murphy replied, "In return for mutual recognition with Israel which would help the U.S. recognize the P.L.O. officially." Murphy recommended "'direct negotiations' between the P.L.O. and Israel for a Palestinian settlement based on United Nations resolutions, the Camp David accord and Reagan peace proposals of September 1982."

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What is one to make of Murphy's remarks? Do they reflect a shift in U.S. policy? And how much longer can the United States expect support from its Arab allies if it continues to bankroll Israeli rejectionism? As an editorialist in one of Jordan's dailies noted, even among allies there is a point of no return. If it is clear that "moderation" and a "centrist" course are not working, they should be abandoned. Sensitive to the denunciations of the Jordanian and Palestinian strategy by Damascus, critics here question whether Jordanian diplomatic efforts are worthwhile in view of U.S. indifference and Israeli intransigence. But if diplomacy fails, what is left?

Recent developments in South Lebanon suggest the answer to that question. There the Lebanese national resistance movement has grown into a significant force, capable of driving out the Israeli occupation army. The example is cited proudly as a milestone in the Israeli-Arab conflict but also with apprehension, given the price of the struggle and the conditions under which it has been waged. Everywhere people talk of South Lebanon and the lessons it holds—not only for the Palestinians and the Lebanese but for Israel and the United States. □

ALOHA, MALATHION

Hawaii Wakes Up To Pesticides

W.S. MERWIN

Ha'iku, Hawaii

Every year the blessings of statehood are officially celebrated in Hawaii. There are echoes of Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July in the ceremonies, and the rhetoric often sounds as though it were composed for the benefit of the swirling tourists from the mainland: part of a packaged welcome designed to make them feel at once far away and right at home. But among residents of Hawaii, statehood is not universally considered a privilege. Despite the speeches and the presence of tourists and the military, despite the local maneuvers of multinational corporations based heaven knows where, the mainland and the Federal government seem, most of the time, remote and unreal.

The Federal government's directives regarding Hawaii, thousands of miles from Washington, sometimes add to the sense of remoteness. Last month, for instance, the residents of Maui were startled to learn, from the island newspaper and the radio, that the Department of Agriculture had been working on a plan to "eradicate" from the islands what the planners refer to as the tri-fly. The term refers to three species of fruit fly, of which the best known is the so-called Mediterranean fruit fly. Parts of California were sprayed for this insect up to twenty times in recent years,

W.S. Merwin is a poet who lives in New York City and Hawaii. His latest book is Opening the Hand *(Atheneum).*

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with results that have not been fully publicized.

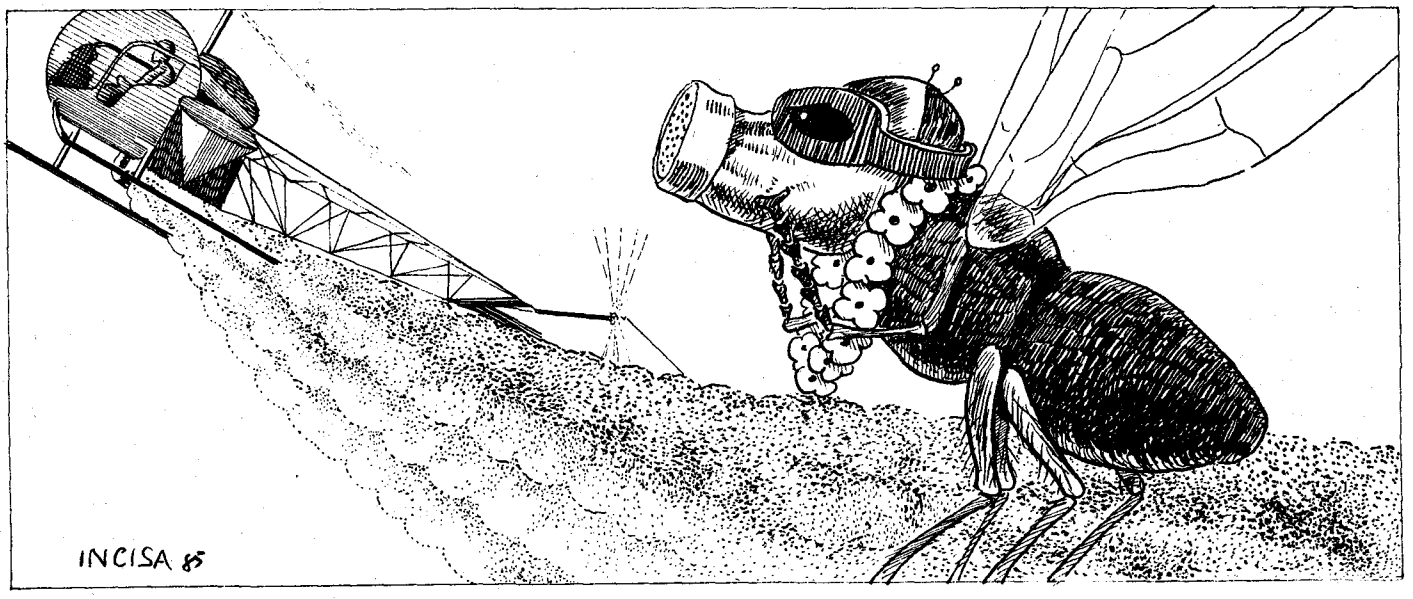
The new plan proposes spraying all the Hawaiian Islands, over a period of six years, with six poisons, three of them organophosphates, several of them suspected carcinogens and mutagens. Of the organophosphates, the most familiar is malathion, which was used in California and, before that, in Florida. The plan proposes spraying some 2.9 million pounds of malathion on the islands, roughly three pounds for each inhabitant, in a manner that is in open violation of the Federal law quoted on the label that must accompany the product when it is sold in stores.

By the time the residents of Maui heard of the plan, some $200,000, to which their own taxes had contributed, had been spent in drawing up a draft environmental impact statement, which is required before Congress will vote funds for the plan. According to Hampton Carson, a distinguished geneticist from the University of Hawaii, there had been a "scoping session," which apparently means a preliminary discussion by chosen local representatives of this and that, in January of last year on Oahu. The public remained largely unaware of the program. In mid-December a meeting to discuss it was announced very unobtrusively in the Honolulu papers and drew only a small number of professionals who already knew about the plan—biologists, doctors, medical researchers and a member of the Papaya Administrative Committee. They attacked the proposal as ludicrous, impracticable, impossible, absurdly expensive. Carson spoke of the inappropriateness of spraying in the rugged valleys of the islands and of the devastation it would wreak on the fragile remnants of Hawaii's ecosystem. Even the spokesman for the papaya industry, which devotes a considerable sum every year to combating the fruit flies, said that he and his industry were not in favor of trying to eradicate the flies "at the expense of the health and welfare of Hawaii's people."

No public meetings were scheduled on Kauai, though the plan proposed to start the spraying there. A member of the Maui County Council had persuaded Edward Stubbs of the U.S.D.A. to come to a pre-Christmas meeting in a lecture room at the community college, where public gatherings are not generally held. Primed by stories about the Honolulu session, a crowd of at least 250 people turned out, only to be told by Richard Doutt, a Federal consultant, that their comments should not address the proposal as such but only the draft environmental impact statement, which most of them had not heard of until that moment and which had been, for all practical purposes, unavailable to the public on Maui. Stubbs prefaced the meeting with a soothing statement that the project was only a "proposal" and did not have any of "the pressure of a pending program," but few in the room seemed reassured.

In the words of Wayne Gagne, an entomologist from the Bishop Museum, the 330-page draft statement is a sophisticated document, if not a full, adequate or straightforward treatment. In 1962, despite the U.S. chemical industry's efforts to suppress her book *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson gathered enough evidence to enable her to describe the effects of malathion poisoning on the human body: muscular breakdown and the destruction of the sheaths of the sciatic and spinal nerves. And she pointed out that the combination of malathion with other organophosphates—something very possible in our poison-ridden environment—results in massive poisoning "up to fifty times as severe as would be predicted on the basis of adding together the toxicities of the two." The plan for spraying Hawaii proposes the use of three organophosphates; only the planners seem to believe that they will not combine. It is also known that repeated exposure to these compounds greatly multiplies the health risk. The U.S.D.A. plan calls for 108 to 156 sprayings, more than five times as many as in California. Although some of the potential dangers are mentioned, reading the draft statement and its calculations is like reading the Navy's descriptions of radiation levels in water into which it has spilled or dumped radioactive materials. You would think the result was good for you.

The malathion sprayed in California took the paint off cars, and the draft impact statement does allude to the expense of providing new paint jobs. It does not, however,



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adequately discuss the possible contamination of drinking water on the outer islands of the Hawaiian chain, which depend for the most part on runoff and, in many places, on private rain-catchment systems.

The audience at the Maui meeting, which included biologists, medical researchers, doctors, lawyers, economists and farmers, was fervent, well informed, articulate and unanimously opposed to the proposal. The discussion went on until the building had to be closed for the night, and the nature of it was as much of a surprise to Stubbs as the eradication plan had been to the residents of Maui. He said it left him "emotionally exhausted," and he assured the audience that he had got their message.

News of the proposal came at a time when the subject of pesticides and herbicides was already seething in Hawaii. Ten times as much poison is used in Hawaii per square mile, and three times as much per capita, as in any state on the mainland. In 1981 the Hawaiian pineapple industry was permitted to use the pesticide dibromochloropropane, or DBCP, a carcinogen banned on the mainland by the Environmental Protection Agency in 1979, under a special variance that expired at the beginning of this year. Growers have asked the E.P.A. to allow them to go on using the chemical for two more years, until their stockpiles are depleted. And on three successive days in early January, the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* reported that residues of heptachlor, DBCP and ethylene dibromide had been discovered in milk and that state officials, consultants from the University of Hawaii and representatives of the pineapple industry had attempted to suppress the facts. This is the context in which the tri-fly eradication proposal emerged into the ken of the people of Maui.

Although Stubbs told the citizens at the meeting that they had until January 16 to send their comments on the impact statement to Washington, he subsequently said that in view of the unforeseen response (which has necessitated printing a new edition of the statement), the deadline has been extended to March 26. But he made that comment in a telephone conversation with a local environmentalist, and skeptics on Maui suggest that once $200,000 have been sunk in a scheme, somebody is going to push to make it go, even though, as the draft statement itself concedes in passing, the proposed spraying program will almost certainly not eradicate the fruit flies, whatever else it may send to extinction. The "somebody" in this case is said to be agribiz interests in the citrus industry in California and Texas and, of course, pesticide manufacturers.

There are economic arguments against the plan as well as medical and environmental ones. Mary Evanson, a member of the executive board of the Maui chapter of the Sierra Club, was rather surprised when Stubbs telephoned her from Maryland on January 4. She says she brought the conversation around to economics, informing him that the State of Hawaii might not be willing to contribute funds for the spraying. (The question of who will pay for it is still not clear.) He told her that the Department of Agriculture had considered that possibility and was prepared to turn to private interests, which he did not name. Evanson told him that the tourist industry might not welcome the spraying program. He said he was not worried. "The tourists," he said, "don't need to know."

P.S. Because of the growing furor, the Hawaii Department of Agriculture recently announced it opposed the U.S.D.A. plan and would fight it in court. In late January, the Oahu supervisor of Hawaii's pesticide monitoring program testified to a State Senate committee, "Every one of Hawaii's farmers has misused pesticides." Said one senator, "Even I am shocked." □

POPIELUSZKO'S LEGACY

Now Solidarity Has a Martyr

DAVID OST

The historic trial of the secret-police assassins of the Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko has ended. Police Captain Grzegorz Piotrowski, who had, with no expression of remorse, confessed to beating the priest to death, received a twenty-five-year prison sentence, instead of the death penalty the prosecution had requested. His immediate supervisor, Col. Adam Pietruszka, who authorized the crime and then vainly sought to cover it up, received the same sentence. Two lower-level accomplices, Leszek Pekala and Waldemar Chmielewski, received fifteen and fourteen years, respectively. Although the sentences are severe, there is widespread suspicion that the policemen will go free long before their terms are served.

The trial did not produce any surprises or implicate any high-level officials, but it did provide a rare glimpse into the workings of the Polish secret police. As the defendants described the alternatives they had considered for silencing Father Popieluszko—planting illegal material on him; forcing vodka down his throat, stripping him and leaving him in a "compromising location"; spreading rumors that he was having an affair with a woman—their arrogant assurance that they could act with impunity emerged with chilling clarity. By exposing the secret police as violent and corrupt, the trial confirmed what the underground press had been saying for years.

In his summation, the prosecutor stated that the trial had failed to establish the existence of a wider conspiracy. Neither the prosecution nor the judge had been inquisitive on that score. Polish politics are not played out in public. As far as the government is concerned, the internal shake-up (or at least the first one) took place one week after the murder, when a key rival of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Gen. Marian Milewski, was removed from his job as party secretary in charge of internal security and replaced by the Polish

David Ost, who has written from Poland for In These Times *and* Poland Watch, *is working on a dissertation on democracy in the Solidarity movement.*

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Central America
Appearing just after the controversial Kissinger report in January 1984, the special issue on Central America offered a strong refutation of the Administration's views. The arguments still hold. Highlighted by Walter LaFeber's overview, William LeoGrande's analysis of the domestic political fallout and Peter Davis's compelling firsthand report on the Nicaraguan revolution today, the issue is one of the most urgent, informative and important in *The Nation*'s history.

Fifteen Years of the Burger Court
Herman Schwartz and his cadre of twelve leading lawyers and scholars put together an invaluable assessment of the Burger Court. Leaving no stone unturned, the authors scrutinize the last fifteen years of "intense judicial activism" in a thought-provoking manner. No lawyer, student of the courts or concerned citizen should be without this issue.

K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew And When We Knew It
Published on the eve of the first anniversary of the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, this issue raises serious questions about the U.S. role in the tragedy. After a year of thorough research, author David Pearson concludes that U.S. authorities at the highest level knew the airliner was off course much earlier than they have admitted, and that the questions raised by the official versions of the story can only be resolved by a Congressional inquiry.

The Strange Correspondence of Morris Ernst & John Edgar Hoover, 1939–1964
Harrison E. Salisbury, the award-winning journalist, details how the director of the F.B.I. exploited and debased the confidence of a leading civil libertarian, and in so doing seriously compromised the A.C.L.U. Salisbury draws on some 300 exchanges to document the extent to which the machinations of the "top constable" profaned the democratic process.

Latin America: A Political Guide
An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation*'s award-winning Latin American correspondent.

El Salvador
A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

A Letter to America
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Intervention
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The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement
Frank Donner offers a provocative analysis and thorough documentation of the outrageous attempts by right wingers in media, Congress and the Administration to discredit the nuclear freeze movement, charging that it is inspired and manipulated by the Soviet Union.

Nuclear Samizdat
What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial viewpoint with a clarity rarely found in the American press.

Disarmament: Covering the Unthinkable
In this special issue Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of the indisputably most important issue facing mankind; Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement; and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue.

The New Arms Technology
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Empire as a Way of Life
William Appleman Williams' brilliant analysis of America's life with an empire—and the implications of life without one—was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

Myths of the Middle East
This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas.

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leader himself. The trial was largely symbolic, intended to demonstrate to the people that the government is law-abiding, and to the police that they do not run the country. Press coverage of the proceedings was unprecedented. Warsaw Radio issued hourly bulletins, quoting liberally from the testimony but omitting any evidence that might point to a wider conspiracy.

Captain Piotrowski spoke in defense of the police. In a strong, confident, sometimes angry voice, he described his colleagues' resentment of the government's kid-glove treatment of its critics. He evoked the sense of betrayal that the secret police's department for church affairs had felt a year before, when Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, the Minister of Internal Affairs, forbade them to arrest Popieluszko. He recited a litany of "illegal acts" allegedly committed by priests, then he turned to the courtroom full of police officers and asked, "How can all this be borne with calm?"

But what was not said at the trial was more revealing than what was said. The Polish Communist Party was never mentioned, even though the defendants had been members until their arrests. The crime, the prosecution repeatedly stressed, was a crime against the state. Two of the defendants admitted to being "unpatriotic"; not one of them was called on to confess to being "antisocialist." In 1980, the government required the Gdansk workers to pay homage to the party's political hegemony as a condition for the legalization of Solidarity. In 1985, however, the prosecutor didn't even ask the defendants about their loyalty to party policy or what the members of their former party cells would think about their actions. The media assessed the implications of the murder for the government, the police, the people and the church, but said hardly a word about its impact on the party.

The party has always been merged with the state in Soviet-type societies, but in Poland, the state has been emerging as the clearly predominant element ever since the imposition of martial law, in December 1981. The party is not on its way to extinction, but its ideological character is withering away. This "de-ideologization" process makes the party an increasingly possible partner for the Catholic Church. Despite the effect of Popieluszko's murder, Jaruzelski and Jozef Cardinal Glemp are striving to continue the church-state rapprochement that was well under way at the time of the crime. A month after the murder, Glemp demonstrated his opposition to militant priests by issuing a special order banning another radical priest, the Rev. Stanislaw Malkowski, from preaching outside his parish.

During the trial, the defendants admitted they had also plotted to abduct Malkowski. In his order, Glemp stated, "Some priests let themselves be influenced by worldly sentiments and, instead of preaching divine truths, indulge in nontheological polemics which, moreover, have nothing in common with patriotism." Determining theological questions is the function of the Catholic hierarchy, but defining patriotism, surely a "worldly sentiment," is normally a secular issue. Glemp himself raises this "nontheological" issue to indicate his acceptance of the government's position on the activities of the militant priests. In return, Jaruzelski pledges to continue the policy of church-state cooperation which has so outraged the police and the party hard-liners. There has been a boom in the construction of new churches as a result of this policy.

Glemp's conciliatory line has angered many priests, particularly the young ones. (Father Popieluszko, whom Glemp censured two years ago for speaking out in church on controversial political issues, belonged to the latter group.) They have not challenged Glemp's authority, however; nor are they likely to. The Polish church prides itself on its rigid adherence to doctrine, including the central tenet of unquestioning obedience to the hierarchy. Even though a significant number of priests oppose Glemp, they would be reluctant to form an organized opposition similar to the liberation theology movement in Latin America.

And what of the impact of the priest's murder on Solidarity—both as a symbol of democratic opposition to the regime and as an underground institution? A recent issue of *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, the leading underground newspaper, provides a clue: "Father Popieluszko is a Solidarity martyr in the most profound sense—by his death he has made it into a truly sacred cause. And this has put an entirely new complexion on things." The murder of a priest who repeatedly praised Solidarity from the pulpit identifies the union with the church more closely than ever. Until Popieluszko's death, Solidarity lacked a martyr. No matter that he was not a member. Since December 1981 Solidarity has been more a symbol than an organization. In a country that considers itself the Christ of nations, sacrificed at the altar of Eastern barbarism in order to spare Europe, what better icon for a symbolic struggle than a priest? His martyrdom binds Solidarity to the church in the public mind. It becomes more a

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religious organization and less the secular, independent trade union it really was.

The myth of a holy Solidarity contradicts history, but myths are more attractive than banal facts, especially when political reality blocks any encouraging concrete developments. The underground Solidarity is at a turning point. It can go along with the growing connection to the church or it can maintain the independence that has frustrated all attempts to quiet it. At present, other than calling for public defense of persecuted oppositionists, it has nothing concrete to propose. It denounces the government's lawlessness but can't bring itself to reproach the church. It does criticize Glemp, but that is a different matter: he is chastised for abandoning the church's true principles.

Solidarity has been reluctant to speak out in the long-running controversy over the presence of crucifixes in the schools. Initially, the government tried to forbid the crosses; now there is a stalemate, the regime agreeing to tolerate some crosses but urging the church to be "reasonable" and not demand more. Cardinal Glemp is willing to be reasonable, but every once in a while a group of students or local priests decides to put up more. If the school administrator demands the crosses' removal (some don't), another "crisis" develops, which is settled by a new compromise.

While most prominent dissidents say privately that they oppose the crosses in public schools, they are reluctant to oppose them publicly. Prominent KOR theorist and Solidarity adviser Adam Michnik told a recent visitor that he accepts the crosses as a symbol of resistance to the Communist dictatorship. Presumably in a democratic Poland he would favor taking them down. The problem, of course, is that in a democratic Poland, the people might not let the "democrats" remove what even the "Reds" permit, especially if the democrats don't argue their position today.

Is democracy the future of Poland? More and more, it appears that Jaruzelski seeks to usher in a benign corporate authoritarianism, something like that of Spain twenty years ago, buttressed by a compliant Catholic Church and a non-ideological party that continues to call itself Communist but emphasizes patriotism and militarism above ideology. In such a state the party would not monopolize public life, only set the limits on the activities of semi-independent social groups. Cardinal Glemp would certainly be amenable to that solution. More important, many of his clerical opponents would be receptive as well, for it would entail the cessation of much of the societal repression and would leave them, as priests, in highly influential positions in society. The proposal for Christian trade unions, in place of Solidarity, that has been in the air since the imposition of martial law would be appropriate under a corporate state.

The main opponents of the corporatist idea would be Solidarity, because of its democratic ideals and, at the opposite end of the spectrum, the party hard-liners and the police, who oppose close ties with the church. However, as Solidarity's new martyr exerts an influence on the movement greater than any living person could, the union may lose the primarily secular and democratic identity that until now has preserved it from being co-opted by the state.

If so, the only other potential opponents (the Soviet Union is likely to go along with the idea for want of an alternative) are the hard-liners and the police. Perhaps the trial of the secret policemen was the first part of Jaruzelski's strategy: discipline them; then win them over. While the trial was certainly a rebuke of the police, the government had the prosecutor denounce the murdered man as well, perhaps to appease the hard-liners.

The latter's importance in Polish society was demonstrated last November by the startling announcement that Kazimierz Mijal, the die-hard Stalinist who fled to Albania in the 1960s, had been arrested in Warsaw. Before he went into exile, Mijal had accused the Polish government, even when Wladyslaw Gomulka was in power, of "betraying the socialist revolution" by failing to collectivize agriculture, tolerating the Catholic Church and practicing "revisionism," a charge he also leveled at the Soviet Union. He carried on a private war via Polish-language broadcasts over Radio Tirana. Mijal returned to his homeland in the summer of 1983 and spent more than a year living underground, aided by the Albanian Embassy and, in all probability, Polish Marxist-Leninist hard-liners. Significantly, the government has refused to dispel speculation that he was involved in Father Popieluszko's murder.

When Mijal was caught, he was distributing pamphlets denouncing the regime as a military dictatorship tied to the church and "other right-wing forces." That was not an accurate description, but the defeat of hard-liners like Mijal, Milewski and Piotrowski, combined with the subordination of Solidarity to the church, might make it so. In other words, Francoist Spain might yet be the model for Poland's political future. □

A VICTIM OF HISTORY

Who Wanted David Truong Put Away?

NUBAR HOVSEPIAN AND STUART SCHAAR

In 1978 David Truong, a Vietnamese man living in the United States, was convicted on several counts of espionage in a Federal court. We believe, however, that Truong's real crime was working for reconciliation between the United States and Vietnam, that he was a victim of history.

Truong came to this country as a student in 1964. The son of Truong Dinh Dzu, who made a strong bid for the presidency of South Vietnam in 1967 as a peace candidate, David Truong was active in the U.S. antiwar movement during the 1960s. After the United States withdrew from Saigon in 1975, he devoted himself to working for the normalization

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of relations with Vietnam through the American-Vietnamese Reconciliation Center. Aided by his father's prominence, he was an effective lobbyist in Congress.

In 1977, however, he was arrested and charged with passing State Department cables to a Vietnamese friend in Paris. The information was routine in nature, the kind of material any researcher can obtain nowadays under the Freedom of Information Act. The summary of the trial transcript contains this memorable paraphrase of a Central Intelligence Agency memorandum: "The CIA concluded that connection between the cables and U.S. defense is so attenuated that only a Jesuit could understand it." The key witness against Truong was a Vietnamese woman named Dung Krall, who worked as an informant for the C.I.A. and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Truong was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. Ronald L. Humphrey, the Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency who had given Truong the documents, received the same sentence. In January 1982, Truong began serving his time at the Federal prison in Lake Placid, New York.

During the next three years we visited him, first at Lake Placid and then at the correctional institution in Danbury, Connecticut, where he is currently incarcerated. From discussions with him, with his lawyers and with experts on Indochina, we became convinced that the severity of the sentence that he and Humphrey received can be attributed more to political considerations than to the crime of having passed seemingly harmless documents.

In 1977 there were two schools of thought in the Carter Administration on U.S. policy toward Vietnam. National security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski favored playing the "China card" against the Soviet Union, which meant siding with Beijing in its disputes with Hanoi. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance pushed for a restoration of relations with Vietnam. In May 1978, the month that Truong's trial began, Brzezinski visited China to discuss closer ties between the two countries. In November of that year the State Department broke off talks with the Vietnamese on a postwar settlement. On December 15, 1978, President Carter announced the normalization of diplomatic relations with China. Brzezinski's side had triumphed.

That was the context of Truong's trial. The Justice Department could have dismissed the case or had him deported. Instead the Carter Administration prosecuted him; it feared that failure to do so would provoke intense criticism from the right. The Justice Department also saw a chance to destroy what remained of the antiwar movement. Vietnam War historians whom we have interviewed have concluded that the American-Vietnamese Reconciliation Center was one of the most effective voices in this country for normalizing relations with Vietnam. Truong edited the center's Vietnamese-language newsletter for refugees in the United States, which strongly advocated reconciliation. Washington-based analysts and lawyers close to the case believe that Truong's activity with the center infuriated the Administration more than anything else he did. At a time when peace activists turned their attention to other issues, the center remained one of the few organizations that pursued the normalization question. Putting Truong behind bars effectively silenced a key proponent of that policy.

Last year, the Appeals Board of the Federal Parole Commission ruled that Truong would be eligible for parole after five years. (For reasons that remain tantalizingly unclear, the board also ruled that Humphrey must serve ten years before being considered for parole.) Truong is scheduled for release on August 25, 1986. We have learned that the Immigration and Naturalization Service plans to deport him and has already begun the paper work. In a letter dated August 3, 1983, to the Appeals Board, Truong requested immediate parole and deportation to France. If the government intends to deport him, why doesn't it do so immediately? Letters sent to the National Appeals Board, U.S. Parole Commission, Chevy Chase, MD 20815 (copies to David Truong, c/o VNTSC, P.O. Box 53393, Washington, DC 20009) could speed up the process. □

Delegate Rules

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

out of the party decision-making process. Subsequent commissions have been dominated by Presidential hopefuls, trying to shape the next nomination contest to their advantage; the Fairness Commission will be no exception.

The resolution that created the Fairness Commission was passed by the Rules Committee of the Democratic Convention during a meeting in Washington last June. The resolution reflects the separate but overlapping demands of supporters of Jesse Jackson and Gary Hart, who believe that the 1984 system was rigged against their man. The Jackson staff's grievances, real and imagined, are embodied in Resolution 7 of the Rules Committee Report, and Hart's are in Resolution 8. Both focus on the same set of rules, but they approach them in different ways.

The first question they address is whether the caucus system, used in some states to choose convention delegates, should be preserved. Jackson's followers want to examine the possibility of eliminating caucuses altogether. Under the current system, delegates to a caucus are elected from each precinct or other political subunit. In some heavily black districts, Jackson drew an unprecedentedly high number of votes. In Fort Worth, for example, he garnered 418 votes compared with Mondale's 29 and Hart's 3. He had 248 more votes than he needed to win every delegate from that district, but that margin did not show up in his total number of delegates statewide. The same thing happened in other caucus states such as Virginia and Mississippi: the number of caucus delegates pledged to Jackson failed to reflect his percentage of the popular vote.

The Hart section of the report proposes that caucuses be

Elaine Ciulla Kamarck, an adjunct in political science at George Washington University, directed delegate selection for the Mondale campaign.

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open to all Democrats, rather than only to those who were registered as party members prior to the caucus vote, and that they be held in the smallest convenient voting units. Some Hart supporters believe that he would have done better had some form of preregistration not been required for caucus voters in Texas and Kentucky and had voters in Michigan been able to cast their ballots at the usual polling places.

This proposal would help candidates who lack an organization but who attract nonaligned, civic-minded voters. Hart did well in caucus states like Maine, where hundreds of yuppies who had never voted as Democrats walked into caucuses and supported him. Presumably in 1988 he will be able to afford the kind of campaign needed to win in caucus states. The Hart camp's proposal will serve its leader's interests if he does not become the candidate of the Democratic establishment and if no other candidate captures his independent constituency.

Hart and Jackson followers also raise the question of when the first primaries and caucuses should be held. The Jackson proposal calls for the Fairness Commission to examine whether the large number of early primaries and caucuses held within a few weeks' time work to the advantage of well-financed front-running candidates. Even though Hart, with hardly any organization and little money, competed in twenty contests in one week and almost ended Walter Mondale's candidacy, the Jackson people contend that the bunching together of a number of contests early in the game cut short the nominating process. The Hart campaign wants to preserve the early pollings in Iowa and New Hampshire, although some people think those states have a disproportionate say in choosing Presidential candidates. Front-runners fall and little-known candidates emerge there—Eugene McCarthy in New Hampshire in 1968, McGovern in New Hampshire in 1972, Carter in Iowa in 1976 and Hart in New Hampshire in 1984.

FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS

This just-published booklet by author William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40, 50 copies $150, 100 copies $250. Make checks payable to The Nation Institute and send to "Hiss," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

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It is not surprising that Hart feels kindly toward those states, but that affection could backfire in 1988. Hart could well be the favorite that year. If so, he would find himself playing Mondale to a new Hart in those contests.

Both Hart and Jackson supporters also want the commission to review the method by which delegates are allocated to Presidential candidates. The previous rules commission permitted a bonus system and the direct election of delegates in some states, rather than proportional representation. Both systems reward the candidate who wins the most popular votes in a Congressional district; the bonus system, by awarding an extra delegate to the winner. A related issue is the threshold, or lowest percentage of the vote, a candidate must obtain in order to win any convention delegates.

Members of the Jackson campaign were particularly angered by high thresholds—sometimes 20 or 25 percent—needed to win delegates in some states and by the use of bonus and direct-election systems which, they contended, deprived Jackson of delegates he should have had. In a letter to Democratic Party chair Charles Manatt last May 19, Jackson complained that he had won 21 percent of the popular vote but only 9 percent of the delegates. Jackson recommends doing away with thresholds and eliminating the bonus system and direct election of delegates.

While lower or no thresholds would have given Jackson more delegates in some places, his delegate count could never have reflected precisely his share of the total vote. In about half the nation's Congressional districts, blacks account for less than 9 percent of the population. Whatever the threshold in those districts, Jackson could not have won any delegates unless he had attracted a substantial number of nonblack voters.

The Hart proposal on allocating delegates is slightly different. It recommends reducing the threshold to 15 percent and permitting bonus and direct-election systems in the second half of the primary season. A related proposal would change the deadlines for filing a slate of delegates.

Those proposals, too, grew out of Hart's 1984 experience. In late 1983 and early 1984 his campaign failed to file complete slates of delegates in three important states where delegates are elected directly: Florida, Illinois and Pennsylvania. As a result, there were few Hart delegates on the ballot. Although he won the popularity contest in Florida, voters could choose only delegates pledged to Mondale or Reubin Askew. Thus Mondale took the most delegates. In Pennsylvania and Illinois, Mondale won the "beauty contest" and a majority of the delegates. Had there been more Hart delegates on the ballot, however, Mondale's count would have been considerably lower.

The Hart campaign is already gearing up for 1988, under the leadership of Bill Dixon, former Wisconsin banking commissioner and a well-known political operative, and is sure to file a full slate of delegates in every state. The Hart campaign should not be opposed, therefore, to early filing deadlines, since next time around they could hamper one of his rivals, just as they curbed his momentum in 1984.

It is hard to understand Hart's and Jackson's objections to the bonus system. Jackson did somewhat better in bonus

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states than in other states because his overwhelming support in Congressional districts with large numbers of blacks increased his number of victories. He won 14 percent of the delegates from bonus states and 10 percent from nonbonus states. Hart carried some important bonus states, Ohio for one, although his victories came mostly in the second half of the campaign.

Finally, both Jackson and Hart supporters attack the rules change of 1982 that allocated a number of delegate slots to elected officials, who were free to cast votes at the convention for whomever they chose, regardless of the outcome of their state's primary or caucus. In 1984 this group overwhelmingly favored Mondale. The Jackson forces want to abolish those unpledged ex officio delegates. Hart's group advocates reducing their number to 5 percent of the total. (In 1984 they made up nearly 15 percent.) The Hart people also propose that such delegates be selected during the second half of the primary season. That proposal was prompted by memories of the boost Mondale received in January 1984, when the House Democratic Caucus selected its 164 delegates and chose a large number of his sympathizers.

Looking ahead, Jackson is probably politically astute to call for the elimination of this category of delegates. He is not likely to draw much support from them. For Hart, the situation is not so clear. If he becomes the front-runner, he will attract some early support from the elected officials and party leaders who constitute the party establishment. But as Mondale showed, that status is a mixed blessing. In addition, none of the likely 1988 contenders have the sizable support in Congress and the state governments that Mondale enjoyed in 1984.

A powerful coalition has already formed to insure the survival of the unpledged ex officio delegates. On February 1, the Democratic National Committee passed a resolution calling for their continuance. It was backed by the House Democratic Caucus, the state party chairs and labor leaders.

The fate of the other Jackson-Hart proposals is more difficult to predict. The Fairness Commission itself will be more controlled by party regulars and less open to influence by Presidential candidates than past bodies. Of its fifty members, ten will be selected by each of the four regional caucuses of the national committee; the remaining ten will be nominated by Paul Kirk, the new party chair, and then approved by the D.N.C.

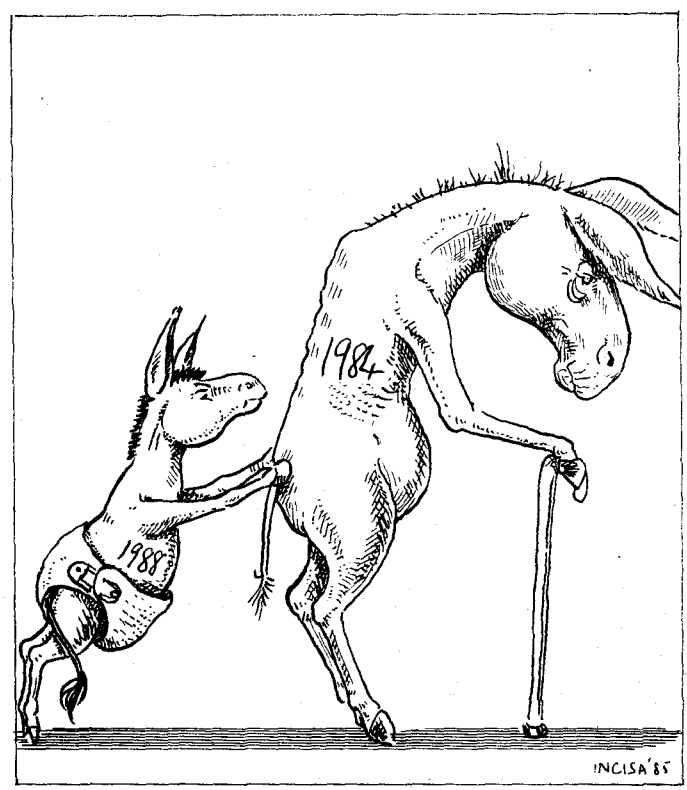
By and large, the party establishment is content with the nomination system as it stands. During the Rules Committee deliberations in June, important D.N.C. leaders such as Kathy Vick, former president of the Association of State Democratic Chairs, and John Perkins of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. chastised Mondale campaign representatives for agreeing to some of the language that appears in the Rules Committee report. The party establishment, and organized labor in particular, ignored the reform efforts of the McGovern-Fraser years and were unpleasantly surprised by the results. They saw the Hunt Commission revisions of 1982 as the first step toward reassuming direction of the nomination process. They will not allow themselves to be surprised again.

Kirk's stand on many of these issues is not known. As treasurer of the party, he helped preserve the early contests in Iowa and New Hampshire in 1984. His first job will be to prove that he is not the captive of Senator Edward Kennedy, whom he served as a top aide for six years, or organized labor, which vigorously supported his candidacy. His actions with regard to the commission will either reinforce or alleviate people's fears about his tenure.

Jesse Jackson will probably continue to argue his side of a question that has been debated for years within the Democratic Party: How many delegates should go to candidates who win a relatively small share of the vote in the interests of representing all constituent groups? His rhetoric will evoke that of earlier reformers who were more concerned with democratic procedure than with political power. Gary Hart's stance is harder to predict, since he is now in a different position than he was a year ago.

Party rules can make it hard for candidates to get into the nomination race. The need to file early, field slates of delegates in every district and court constituency groups to register and turn out at caucuses can work against a candidate with little organization, money and national recognition. The Jackson and Hart proposals would benefit the politically unknown candidate, which is why they may no longer be in Hart's or even Jackson's interest. They would also make it easier for a candidate to win delegates with a relatively small percentage of the vote. That could encourage candidates who do not expect to win the nomination but who want blocs of delegates to insure convention clout.

Only one outcome of the Fairness Commission is already clear. Just as its mandate shows us where the Presidential candidates of 1984 think they have been, its decisions, and the party's response to them, will show us where they think it is going. □



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Himself Observed

EDWARD W. SAID

GEORGE STEINER: A Reader. *By George Steiner. Oxford University Press. 447 pp. $25.*

In George Steiner's case, the first things to be said about him are at once the most obvious and, I think, the least important. You cannot avoid his colossal pomposity and egotism, which announce themselves in the title of this compendium, *George Steiner: A Reader* (it compares nicely with the title given to Leonard Bernstein's televised series of Beethoven symphonies with the Vienna Philharmonic, *Bernstein/Beethoven*, a similarly florid style of bestowing top billing on oneself), and persists through its final pages. Steiner's overdeveloped and obtrusive public pose infiltrates most of what he writes, but nowhere with more preciosity than in his introduction, which will surely become a canonical text for anti-Steinerians. There, it is *his* anguish, *his* learning, *his* history, *his* special gifts, *his* views (he is a mountain person we learn; not for him "the egalitarianism and populism" of sea people; he takes "a darker, more selective view of man," which includes passing notice of "the historical thinness of the contributions made by women to chess"), *his* books and contributions, all paraded before us in the manner of Aristotle contemplating the bust of Homer in a cafe on the Danube, to the strains of Schönberg, Greek dirges and screams.

George Steiner isn't entirely without humor, however, as when he laments the "central absence" in "this *Reader*," which "would be filled only if I reprinted a contribution to the *Yearbook and Guide of the Old English Sheepdog Club* for 1976." But this overweight jocularity cannot hide his oft-noted faults—his inaccuracy, occasionally bogus learning and absurdly theatrical generalizations. What he has to say in *A Reader*, for instance, on the differences and similarities between Russian and American novels is pretty weak stuff, just as his solemn theses on criticism—in particular on Marxist and deconstructionist criticism—are often embarrassing in their ignorance of recent work in those fields.

Yet these faults are not the disabilities of mediocrity. Steiner is a phenomenon. Reading him over the years, and now in portable form, I'm struck with the energy and, at its best, the relentless concentration of his thought. To some extent his mannerisms and affectations have earned him the unkindness of his many critics, but, I think, he has been a brilliant reproach to them as well. For Steiner is, he tells us, an unashamed amateur who works in the conviction that "serious literary and philosophic criticism comes from a 'debt of love,' that we write about books or about music or about art because 'some primary instinct of communion' would have us share with and communicate to others an overwhelming enrichment." Steiner is that rare thing, a critic propelled by diverse enthusiasms, a man able to understand the implications of trends in different fields, an autodidact for whom no subject is too arcane.

Yet Steiner is to be read for his quirks, rather than in spite of them. He does not peddle a system nor a set of norms by which all things can be managed, every text decoded. He writes to be understood by nonspecialists, and his terms of reference come from his experience—which is trilingual, eccentric and highly urbane—not from something as stable as doctrine or authority. This is the other side of his egotism: that he, George Steiner, conscientiously tries to register every response accurately, work through every difficulty, test every feeling, authenticate each experience of the best that is known and thought. As such, then, the critic functions as a real if very unusual person, not an academic abstraction.

Given these facts, we should expect some of the extracts in *A Reader* to be less compelling than others because, as is the case with any strong intellectual personality, Steiner responds more fully and interestingly to some subjects or themes than to others. The first two sections—"The Critical Act" and "Readings"—dutifully run through "important" books and authors, with fairly uninspired results. Like most obsessional eccentrics, Steiner is fatally attracted to "normal" things. Hence, I think, his attempts at old-style criticism in the manner of Sainte-Beuve or Edmund Wilson. What he has to say about Tolstoy, tragedy and modern criticism isn't really worth all the trouble, except that it quite clearly makes him feel better to have touched these healthy bases.

Once Steiner gets to part three, "Obsessions," and part four, "Matters German," we are in a different world entirely. Here, it seems to me, Steiner is without peer in rendering and reflecting on patterns and motifs in modern, mainly German, culture. As a Jew (the substance of his Jewishness being, as we shall see, a specially controversial topic), he is tortured by the coincidence of Europe's great cultural accomplishments and its scarcely imaginable barbarism during the fascist period. Steiner's argument is that the first actually produced and must be held accountable for the second. Yet he intends no crude reduction of, say, Heidegger's philosophy to Nazism, or Anthony Blunt's art history to treason. Quite the contrary, it is Steiner's pressure on himself as "a kind of survivor" of a long-gone era that enables him to say that "modern barbarism sprang in some intimate, perhaps necessary way from the very core and locale of humanistic civilization," that monuments of unaging intellect can easily coexist with the undermining and demonic agencies of irrationalism and bestiality.

It is the European Jew—unhoused (a favorite Steinerian word), an inveterately restless wanderer, a perpetual exile—who according to Steiner enacts in his body and mind the results of this coexistence. Parenthetically, I should note that Steiner's descriptions of these enactments concern only males, as do his discussions of the authority of "master" critics, novelists, intellectuals. Steiner is haunted by figures like Walter Benjamin, Franz Kafka, Georg Lukács, Arnold Schönberg, Isaak Babel, men in whose background of central European humanism and learning, now shattered and distorted, he rediscovers himself and the anomalies of his contemporary position. Thus Zionism, he suggests, betrays the Diaspora

Edward W. Said, professor of English at Columbia University, is the author of The World, the Text, and the Critic *(Harvard University Press).*

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that produced those unsettling recognitions of the divine Word and of civilization's various retreats from it into private as well as collective immorality.

And so it is that Diaspora Judaism is central to all of Steiner's work. It is a metaphor for imaginative extraterritoriality and for a fascination with verbal ingenuity that is committed to both the sacred and the profane. Steiner takes this constellation of ideas very far, with results that are always interesting, if not always defensible. I speak here with a good deal of awkwardness as someone who has great misgivings about Zionism but who would find it difficult to sketch the associations between Israel and Nazism that are made—with a kind of vindictive glee that perhaps too closely resembles Steiner's—by "A.H." (Hitler), in the extract here from Steiner's novella, *The Portage to San Cristobal of A.H.* On the other hand, there is in Steiner's stubborn Diaspora ethic a salutary counter to the pieties and callousness of dogmatic American Zionism.

Steiner's *Reader* is at its most informative in the discussions of language and translation. It must follow that if the commerce between evil and good takes place in the exchange between the verbal and the nonverbal, then all the forms of human language are also to be grasped dynamically as a series of linked exchanges between actual languages, old traditions and "future literacies." No language exists that is not aware of other languages, just as, technically speaking, every speech act is both a response to and a translation of another speech act. In his most impressive book, *After Babel*, Steiner examines all the implications of this fundamentally polymorphic view, with a learning and insight that are remarkably exhilarating. Extracts from the book furnish the best material in the *Reader*'s last section, "Language and Culture."

The rare thing about what Steiner does here is that he puts himself at the inner core of a discourse, discipline, language, author, and *then* communicates outward to the uninitiated, without losing either the intimacy or the urgent clarity of each realm. You could call it ventriloquism or, with Steiner's critics, charlatanism, but it is an impressive and on the whole enviable gift. Certainly in talking about the complications of modern linguistics Steiner is good, not just because he gets them

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right but because he reads these complications into adjacent social and moral settings.

Many of Steiner's more severe readers will not be satisfied with what I have said and will press the case against him a bit further. He is a popularizer, they will say; he has neither George Orwell's verbal and political honesty nor Edmund Wilson's better-grounded and sober erudition. To which the answer must be that Steiner is, in fact, an anomaly and even a kind of humanistic relic whose code of difficulty and discipline can be usefully employed to show up much contemporary cant about the humanities, a recent example of which is *To Reclaim a Legacy*, William Bennett's threadbare screed on the virtues of Western masterpieces. But saying that still doesn't do Steiner the justice it seems to me he deserves. I think his writing articulates a Tory disregard for specialization that is in very short supply, especially with the bogus expertise and philistine rituals of certification that rule Reaganism's cultural imperium. In addition, Steiner is not parochial and certainly not a patriotic nationalist, even if we allow for the sometimes cloying sentimentalism of his dithyrambs on old Prague and Vienna. He occupies an honorable position on that rapidly disappearing terrain between the ivory tower and the darkling plain. And more to the point, there is much to be learned from what he says and, because he takes pains to satisfy an educated "general" reader, much pleasure.

I am not at all sure why Steiner refers to Theodor Adorno so much, and yet never discusses him. Adorno is to my mind a much more interesting (because secular) figure than Benjamin, for whom Steiner entertains a kind of blathering awe. Adorno had an altogether harder mind than the other Frankfurt theorists, and his brilliant writings on music and exile should furnish Steiner (who speaks with much interest of both) with a perfect occasion for a study. But unless I've missed it, he's never done one. □

Kulturkritiker

TERRENCE DES PRES

ANTIGONES. *By George Steiner. Oxford University Press. 316 pp. $29.95.*

Antigone is the great poem of political tragedy, and for readers like myself, who have long wished for a critical study equal in complexity and depth to the play, I am pleased to report that George Steiner's *Antigones* does not fall short. With the book in hand I also see why no professional classicist could have written it. Steiner's *Antigones* is not content to respect limits and pick at small problems; it aims to match the grandness of its subject, and proceeds with a thoroughness that only a *Kulturkritiker* like Steiner, bold to a fault, might be expected to attempt. That his success owes a great deal to Heidegger and Hölderlin accounts for the book's excitement but also, and in primary ways, for its fictive methodology.

Steiner is awed, and so am I, by what he calls *Antigone*'s "millennial magnetism": by the sheer frequency with which, in times of crisis especially, "men and women re-enact, more or less consciously, the major gestures, the exemplary symbolic motions, set before them by antique imaginings and formulations," by the Creon-Antigone agon first of all. In the Western tradition there are dozens, perhaps hundreds, of versions of *Antigone*, along with countless allusions, thematic borrowings and historical analogies shockingly exact—more than enough to challenge the sovereignty of *Oedipus*. Thus the insight that governs investigations in *Antigones*:

> Antigone's constancy in the western poetic repertoire is literal. As is that of the Creon-Antigone confrontation and dialectic in their political, moral, legal, sociological ramifications. Named or implicit, the two figures and the mortal argument between them initiate, exemplify, and polarize primary elements in the discourse on man and society as it has been conducted in the West.

Steiner is making large claims, most of which he roots in research as well as intuition. One, however, remains in the air. Questioning why certain myths persist intact after centuries of wear, Steiner follows Heidegger and suggests that among the earth's mythologies there has been only one set that counts finally, and for this reason: the myths of classical Greece have encoded themselves within the language we speak. There they survive—"intimately associated with and registered in the fundamental features of our syntax"—to shape our discourse and inspire our perceptions. On this enabling fiction the book depends.

It is one thing to celebrate the "specific lustre" of Antigone's story and to demonstrate that we in the West have returned perpetually to a network of such stories. It is something else to argue for a cultural determinism; to suggest that the "determinant Greek myths are *myths in and of language*" and to insist, as Steiner finally does, that mythic personae like Oedipus and Antigone, Electra and Orestes, actually motivate "the semantic encoding, the expressive means of our grammars of thought and of feeling."

Steiner's thesis cannot be proved, and his Eurocentric bias, which is steadfast and perhaps defensive, endorses a Western cultural hegemony that, for most of us, collapsed long ago. Nevertheless, Steiner has a point. *Antigones* leaves no doubt that "the Antigone myth reaches unwavering across more than two millennia," from 440 B.C. to the recent revisions of Bertolt Brecht, Jean Anouilh, Athol Fugard and Kemal Demiral, among others. The cultural destiny of Antigone's story is the temporal index of a timeless action, in particular the wreckage that occurs when spiritual being collides with politics. I would therefore advise readers that Steiner's commentary on *Antigone*—the play itself, its translations, stagings, interpretations—is too solidly good, and possibly too important, to be devalued for its extravagance of theory.

It is Steiner's habit to push to, and then beyond, frontiers of established scholarship. Outrageous speculation is, for him, standard practice, often with splendid results. But just as often he supports his insights by relying on literary props—on baroque rhetoric, doctrinal tone and a display of the latest fashions in critical jargon. Steiner's mannerisms amount to a uniquely stylized, and sometimes hectoring, brand of pedantry. There is no doubt about his brilliance, but he wears his learning on his breastplate, and, like Philoctetes,

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…, but he knows that in practice …re is no approachable source, only a …ltitude of interpretations inherent in …slations, stagings, emendations and …mentaries, and thus finally that …re is no *Antigone*, only *Antigones*. …s is, of course, the assumption of …cs in general. To it Steiner adds his …n version of Harold Bloom's theory misreading. Again with Heidegger, …ner insists on, and amply dem…trates, the centrality of what …ht be called "productive error" or …eative distortion," and here I would …te him at length:

> …ut in both the scholarly and the …ritical spheres the past is an active …mbodiment within current judge…ent. It is, organically, at work in …ach act of new insight. As it comes to …s from Sophocles' *Antigone*, "mean…ng" is bent out of its original shape …ast as starlight is bent when it reaches …s across time and via successive …ravitational fields. It is the creative as …ell as the obscuring aspects of this …istortion, it is the effects such distor…on has on reading Sophocles now, …hich are the theme of this study.

…einer not only uncovers splendid …ments of "creative distortion" in the …cs of others, but employs it himself, …never more excitingly than when he …orates Hölderlin's eccentric transla… of *Antigone*, which is the greater …its manifest mistakes. He is fasci…d with Hölderin's idea of transla… as a function of time and belated… There is the Greek text by Soph…s, lucid but unrealized; then there is …"Hesperian" text created by the …slator, in this case Hölderlin, who …ates and brings to fulfillment the …d meaning sealed in the original. …derlin's mad translation thus be…s an act of "reading against" the …k, an accomplishment truer to …ocles than Sophocles himself was …to be. This reading can only hap…long afterward, when at a time of …ward progress and twilight de…," a belated poet such as Hölderlin …es on the scene. Through him the …ness of a great poem finally shines …. The tragedy becomes a "God…," a forcing of the forgotten gods …turn in a catastrophe of nemesis …evelation. Antigone's fate is to be …od-challenger, the holy sinner. …her tragedy and Hölderlin's …ation share an identical agony, a …very of transcendence at the cost of …nal destruction.

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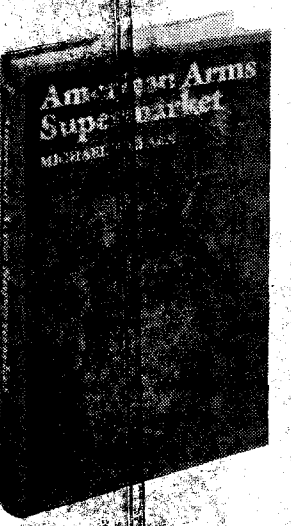

AMERICAN ARMS SUPERMARKET
By MICHAEL T. KLARE

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If Sophocles embraced a "haunted humanism," the darkness of the gods pressing ever upon him, Steiner would seem to be similarly haunted—if not by the gods then by "the secret king," as Hannah Arendt called Heidegger. Steiner thereby enters many a black forest but also unexpected clearings, moments of persuasive insight, especially when he is writing about some portion of his own position, as in the case of Hölderlin. In the course of *Antigones* he analyzes every character in the drama and every aspect of the dramatic situation itself. Along the way, he makes some unexpected turns: the question of whether Sophocles invented Antigone's story yields a meditation on myth; the famous disputed passage becomes occasion for adding further dimensions to the play. It would seem, as Paul De Man suggested in *Blindness and Insight*, that perverse allegiance to doubtful theories can, in energetic hands, open new spaces, arrive at rightnesses beyond doubt or academic quibble.

Steiner is especially good on Creon's "war-truth"; on the male-female conflict and the case for feminism at the heart of the battle between Creon and Antigone; on connections between language and politics; on the Sophoclean sense of menace and transcendence; on the way fathers instigate Oedipal conflict by killing their sons (not only Haemon but, here, Creon's lost son, Megareus); and on the various interpretations of the "Ode on Man," the play's great second chorus which sings of "terrible wonder" and envisions human grandeur as a tragic mix of monstrosity and might.

There are, as well, numerous small asides in *Antigones*—for example, Steiner's reasons for favoring Sophocles over Shakespeare, or his attention to the many operas and the modern music (Arthur Honegger and Carl Orff) inspired by Antigone's story. In the end, what strikes me most is Steiner's reading of the emblem inherent in Creon's decree, the reversal of cosmology that takes place when the dead are left unburied and the living are buried alive. Here, with something of Hölderlin's courage, Steiner draws from an ancient drama the image of our present plight:

> Teiresias' (Sophocles') vision of the inversion of the worlds of the living and of the dead has taken on for us, today, an overwhelming actuality. It is the lucid delineation of a planet on which massacres or nuclear warfare have left the numberless unburied dead, and in whose subterranean shelters, caves, or conscripted catacombs the living wait in blackness for their end. Henry Moore's "shelter drawings," to which I referred earlier, already draw us uncannily close to the imaginings of *Antigone*. But they are as pastoral ornaments compared to the prospects of death-in-life, of life-in-death, now open to mankind. It is these very prospects, the murder of life itself by the politics of the living, politics which, like Creon's, have their undoubted claims to dignity and to rationality, which Teiresias enunciates. The relevance of his saying negates all cautionary distance between us and the ancient text. The full meaning of Creon's deeds (errors) has come home to us as it cannot have to any spectator or reader before our present danger. □

The Limits of Sisterhood

VIVIENNE WALT

SISTERHOOD IS GLOBAL. *Edited by Robin Morgan. Anchor/Doubleday. 755 pp. $24.95.*

CRY AMANDLA!: South African Women and the Question of Power. *By June Goodwin. Africana Publishing Company/Holmes & Meier. 253 pp. $27.50.*

A lot has happened since Robin Morgan published *Sisterhood Is Powerful* in 1970. Among other things, Western feminists have finally begun to look east and south in an effort to forge an international challenge to women's oppression. As part of this effort, Morgan's new volume brings together essays on local conditions from feminists in seventy countries. Thirteen years in the making, the project is grand and at times self-important—Morgan calls her introductory essay "Planetary Feminism: The Politics of the 21st Century." The content of the book does not quite live up to its global ambitions; it is, after all, a reference book, with all the limitations of its kind. Among its successes are the reports from feminists perhaps many of us did not know existed—Senegalese, Tahitian, Nepalese—who describe working, sexual, marital, political and economic life in their respective countries. Each entry is prefaced by the relevant statistical data, painstakingly collected by Morgan's team.

This enormous effort gives a voice to women who are otherwise geographically and culturally isolated, but it is anchored in the questionable belief that "global sisterhood" is indeed possible and that it can subsume and somehow bridge conflicts of class and nationality. In her introduction, Morgan describes her researchers as being "able to feel the pain and rage of women they have never met, in regions they have never seen, as intensely as if it were their own—which it is." But the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, held in Copenhagen in 1980, clearly illustrated the odds against actual as opposed to sentimental global sisterhood. Most feminists regarded the meeting as something of a fiasco. Women with different ideological positions clashed, and male delegates representing women in their countries—!—repeatedly watered down resolutions. Despite their own experience of sexual oppression, the political interests of Western women are often contradictory to those of their sisters in Third World liberation movements. "Sisterhood" is a limited response to such conflicts.

We should welcome the fact that Western feminists are finally taking a close look at women in the Third World and are trying to find ways of supporting them and learning from their problems. Some Western feminists have indeed been guilty of what the Moroccan contributor, Fatima Mernissi, calls "the belief . . . that Arab women are subservient, obedient slaves who discovered consciousness-raising and illuminating revolutionary ideas only when fed such goodies by the most liberated of all women (New York, Paris, and London feminists)."

Too often, however, Western feminists have been so eager to defend themselves against such charges that they have denied the chasms between different cultures. Feelings of solidarity can only be a good thing, but there is a danger of Western women expressing a degree of political commitment that they cannot finally act on. With astonishing enthusiasm—or naïveté—Robin Morgan proclaims in her introduction:

Vivienne Walt is a South African journalist living in New York City.

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> We (feminists) are not about mild reforms or "settling for a piece of the pie"; we are about revolution—and we are not settling for revolution as it has been described or practiced ever before.

Morgan's new revolution rejects the notion of class, which she says is a "categorization invented by patriarchy to divide and conquer." This assertion sits uneasily alongside another from her introduction: "Women *are* the world's proletariat." The entry by Tinne Vammen of Denmark helps somewhat to resolve the issue. Although she admits that the question of how to achieve a socialist *and* feminist society threatens to divide the New Left, the Danish Redstockings movement has nevertheless held to its principle of "No feminist struggle without class struggle; no class struggle without feminist struggle."

The question of how socialism relates to feminist liberation has become a critical one. After two decades of national liberation struggles and victories, feminists are beginning to ask, Why have these "new societies" forsaken us? Women, it seems, are still oppressed in Cuba, Mozambique and Vietnam. Their disappointment does not mean that there has been nothing in national liberation for women. Perhaps without exception, countries in which national liberation struggles have succeeded are committed, at least publicly, to women's equality, while here in the United States, women are still fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment.

The sisterhood embedded in women's shared experience is a long way from the internationalism Morgan envisions. In her introduction, she argues that nationalism is anathema to feminism. "Women," she says, "are fixed in the painful contradiction of being expected to fight and die . . . for national liberation struggles, yet women seem, cross-culturally, to be deeply opposed to nationalism."

We have only to read *Cry Amandla!* to see that this statement does not hold up, at least not for women fighting an intense battle for liberation in South Africa. June Goodwin, an American journalist who has spent much time in South Africa over the past eight years, sets about interviewing South African women, both white and black; she finds that in the struggle against apartheid, there is little talk about feminism. Instead the women discuss, from a wide range of ideological perspectives, their role in South Africa's civil war.

Cry Amandla! doesn't begin to match the intelligence or rigor of its best predecessor, *Women and resistance in South Africa*, by the historian from that country Cheryl Walker. That book examined the women's struggle under apartheid through South African history but also looked at its failures, and at how it might progress. Goodwin, on the other hand, has failed to place her material in a historical context that would illuminate her subjects' politics. And her blind faith in her readers' ability to distinguish racist banality from intelligent insight has led her to present, without footnotes or explanation, such naïvely racist statements as, "Blacks are born with gonorrhea and syphilis. Do you realize how serious the problem is?" (a quote from Freda van Rooyan, founder of the liberal Afrikaner women's organization, Kontak).

Goodwin also falls into a trap common to non-South African writers on the political situation there: she separates Afrikaners from the rest of white society in a way that no longer reflects political reality. Afrikaner revolutionaries linger in jail (the poet Breyten Breytenbach, for example, ended his seven-year sentence recently), while English-speakers vote for the ruling Afrikaner Nationalist Party in greater numbers.

In an attempt to compensate for her lack of historical knowledge, Goodwin has chosen one woman to guide her through South African politics. Her friend Thenjie Mtintso is used as a touchstone for her interviews with other women, highlighting some of the racism of conservatives as well as the uneasy radicalism of white activists. At the beginning of the book, Thenjie is presented as a friend of Steve Biko, the Black Consciousness Movement leader who died at the hands of security police in September 1977. She becomes increasingly involved in clandestine organizing, seeing herself as continuing the work Biko left off. "I learned from Steve to be a survivalist," she says.

Later, Goodwin visits her in prison, then in Lesotho, where Thenjie and her young son Lumumba have fled. By then, she has switched allegiances from the Black Consciousness Movement to the African National Congress—a political route taken by many South African activists in exile in the 1970s.

Thenjie's story does illuminate recent

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events, but there is a temptation to see her as the prototypal black activist. The experience of women who have reorganized inside South Africa since the countrywide riots in 1976 has been very different. Unfortunately, Goodwin does not examine the massive rise in grass-roots organizing over the last few years, nor does she discuss the United Women's Organization, founded in 1981, which has given black and white left-wing women a new opportunity for joint activism.

There is little overtly feminist content in Goodwin's book, and one co away from *Cry Amandla!* realizing for women in South Africa at leas tional struggles still hold priority feminist demands. Tenjiwe unwit sums this up when she tells Goo early on in the book, "It never occu me that I am being oppressed b black man."

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ART.

ARTHUR C. DANTO

The magnificent assembly Caravaggio's paintings on play at the Metropolitan M um in New York City thro April 14 is embedded in an exhibi designed as an upper-level course in subject who, with characteristic unc ness, blows this edifying format high. So the Met furnishes an exp ence inadvertantly at odds with museum's pedagogic intentions, very close, I think, to the histor reality of Caravaggio's impact on world he swaggered into in the l 1590s.

Here is the way one is supposed to the show. First, one studies four works by Northern Italian artists w Caravaggio is presumed to have see his formative years in Lombardy. T were not his "precursors," as catalogue describes them, for he none, any more than Thomas Hart ton was a precursor of Jackson Poll who also had none. In any case, ha digested these putative influences, passes among Caravaggio's contem raries and competitors in Rome in exciting period from 1590 to 1610, the overpowering example of Mich gelo had been tempered by Manner and the High Baroque was get under way. Rome at the dawn of seventeenth century was like New at the dusk of the twentieth, the to make it, the place that reduced remainder of the country to so artistic backwaters. Here are the racci—Annibale and Ludovico—a age this was, if anyone's, since their eclectic, classicist style that vailed as the result of major com sions. Here, too, is Guido Reni, a painter but not the creator of a dom nating style, whom we see showing unmistakable influence of Carav Then there is the Cavaliere d'Arpino

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dering the artist Giovanni Baglione. Caravaggio's testimony is a series of sneering remarks about other artists. They are not, and Baglione certainly is not, what he terms *valenthuomini*, i.e., those who "have a real understanding of painting." He could have been more conciliatory, but only if he were a different order of man. In fact he was a punk and a knife-fighter, vain and irascible, intemperate and mean. But he was on history's short list of *valenthuomini*, and the show is cruel to those bracketed with him who were not. I walked through the show three times, and each time I re-entered the first room of Caravaggios, I felt the same exhilaration.

The pictures in that room are mostly of unmistakably carnal boys, fingering pieces of fruit, tendering a wine glass, recoiling from a lizard, holding flowers, banging at lutes, usually draped in low-cut ambiguous garments with pretty sashes. I expect that Caravaggio's reputation for homoeroticism derives primarily from the visible evidence of these paintings, in at least one of which—not shown here—he used himself as a model, posing as Bacchus, grape-leaves wreathing his curls, his surly muscles contradicting or perhaps enhanced by the feminine, off-the-shoulder garment, leering at the viewer over a bunch of grapes he pretends to require both hands to hold. But these were done when he was struggling to maintain himself in the first difficult Roman years, and may have less to do with his own proclivities than the tastes of a special market: I see them as fantasy objects for corrupt cardinals to moon over, high-class pinup boys. This may be confirmed by a painting of Saint Francis, lying prone after receiving the stigmata, being comforted by a pleasure boy disguised as an angel in a provocative chemise, an image which connects the religious vocation and erotic preference which co-exist harmoniously in the same ecclesiastical breast.

Something more than luminousness and lubricity transpires in these paintings, however, and in a way that takes us to the heart of Caravaggio's vision: we must see these youths as situated at the intersection of two orders of reality. They really are street boys, endowed to turn a scudo or two in hot and sordid encounters, and it is essential to anything else their representations may be that they are what they appear. But they are also what they stand for in fantasy: incarnations of angels or mythic gods or godlings. Caravaggio does not paint himself with the emblems of Bacchus; he is, at once, really Bacchus and really himself—a divinity and a tough, existing on two planes. Exactly this mode of transfiguration may be seen in Rembrandt, one of the true *caravaggisti*. In his painting "Saskia as Flora," Saskia is unmistakably Saskia, but she is also the flower goddess, her identity as Rembrandt's wife not swamped but penetrated by her other identity. Hendrijke Stoffels really is that dumpy, sagging and used woman—but she is also Bathsheba, possessed of a beauty radiant enough to drive a king to treachery for possession of her. The thought that persons and events of the most extraordinary import and dimension are present, here, in commonplace people—that innkeeper is Jesus, that porter a martyrizer—is the deep conviction of Caravaggio's paintings, derived perhaps from his own sense of himself, brawler as *valenthuomo*, Saint Luke as an assassin, artist as monster. Even a basket of fruit is irradiated by angelic possibilities.

The thought that some sullen boy might have a second identity, that he could be Bacchus or a cherub, answers a very ancient aspiration for art. Tragic drama provided a circumstance in which the hero, played perhaps by a youth very little different from these, could be possessed, at the climactic moment, by Dionysus himself. That the saints should be literally present in their icons made painting, in Byzantium, a dangerous and magical endeavor. The primordial meaning of re-presentation is that of a second presence. What was Baroque Rome but the theatricalization of common life in the constant hope of just such interventions? The members of the Cornaro family are depicted by Bernini in the chapel they dedicated, watching from box seats the transaction of a miracle, Saint Theresa pricked by a grinning angel as in an act of cosmic vaudeville you too could witness. In Caravaggio's own great chapels, the viewer of the painting—"The Conversion of Saint Paul," "The Calling of Saint Matthew"—is also the witness of the event. In all or almost all the paintings here, real people are vessels of exalted personages. There is a young woman, for example, who seems to be represented as both Saint Catherine and Mary Magdalene but who is also Judith hacking off the head of Holofernes with just the right expression of girlish squeamishness and womanly resolution. When Caravaggio abandons nature and derives a profile from some antique motif, as in the angel who arrests Abraham's sacrificing hand, he degenerates into Mannerism.

We must surely refer to the premises of deep theatricality to understand the dark into which he sets his luminescent figures. The Renaissance painting, it is trite to say, was meant as a window through which we see more of the same

THE RIDERS

He asks for little, so great
is his despair. At the crest
of the white hill, he waits
near the fire, holding the reins
of his expensive sled. The girls
giggle and flirt, winding and unwinding
their patterned scarves—a grown man
wants their attention. One of them
finally edges toward him,
as other children appear
and disappear, plying the hill.
There is no moon, his plain face
is lit by snow. Although she cannot
name what she feels, already
she understands the terms
of these arrangements:
from her, a rudimentary kindness,
and in exchange, under his blunt body,
the polished track,
the dull self falling away.

Ellen Bryant Voigt

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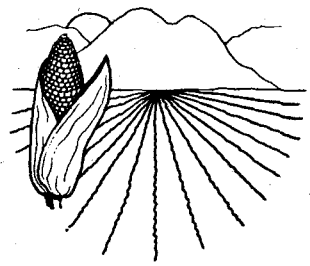

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reality we ourselves occupy. If it creates an illusion, it is an optical rather than a spiritual one, as the preoccupations with perspective and orderly recession imply. The Caravaggian blackness is not a naturalistic representation of night or shadow, but marks instead a metaphoric division between our space and the space in which the martyrdoms and ecstasies and the violent adorations of Baroque art take place. It is a reversal of what we take for granted in theater, where the audience sits in darkness while the characters enact a drama in a space of encapsulated light. Caravaggio's are spaces of encapsulated dark. It would have been beyond the technical means of the Baroque theater to control lighting with an exactitude sufficient to suggest a parallel, but lighting in Baroque painting is a visual analogue to music as the accompaniment of action. Think of the extraordinary effect of a performer spotlighted not against but inside a surrounding darkness, and you will, I believe, have some sense of what chiaroscuro means in Caravaggio. The spaces are neither shallow nor deep. They have no proportion to lived space and are defined less by a geometry than a metaphysics.

In the climactic position, on the far wall of the final gallery, is a depiction of David holding and beholding the head of Goliath. It occupies the position in this show that Van Gogh's self-portrait with severed ear did in the show that preceded it. Here we have a self-portrait as severed head, for Goliath's head is the artist's head, trailing gore. The eyes are not yet dulled by death, the brow is knit in powerful concentration, the mouth is open in meditation and astonishment. David gazes obliquely downward at his trophy. His expression, too, is meditative. The lips are softly pursed, the sword is lowered. He is of the same breed as the boys shown in the first room, but utterly diseroticized: the flesh is luminous but opaque, the garment exposes his chest but is coarse. Victor and vanquished are locked together by the same mystical light and occupy the same enveloping darkness. All the elements of the art come together in an image heightened by its position in the exhibition. It is the image you will carry with you as you leave.

I would pass up the erudite catalogue when you do leave, unless your interests are quite scholarly, and pick up instead Howard Hibbard's lucid and sensitive study *Caravaggio* (Harper & Row). Hibbard did not live to see the exhibition, and we all are poorer for not having his responses to it. If reviews could be dedicated, I would dedicate this to his memory. □

THEATER.

PAUL BERMAN

Tom and Viv
The Crimes of Vautrin

Was T.S. Eliot's marriage as sordid as all that? In the version presented by Michael Hastings's *Tom and Viv*, Eliot married Viv largely out of a desire to enter English aristocratic life. Later he wanted to relocate into English literary life, situated in Bloomsbury, and he found Viv an embarrassment. So he conspired with her brother to lock her away in an insane asylum, to the pecuniary profit of poet and brother both, who received control of her estate. In fact Viv's only mental deficiencies, apart from a basic incompatibility with a dry stick like Tom, came from hormonal imbalances, not in those days correctable, which disappeared at menopause. Yet in the asylum she languished ever after, still loyally loving and defending her cruel, vicious, ambitious, suspiciously religious dry stick.

This is awful—from the point of view of real life. But from the point of view of play-writing, it's all very promising, with a nice pairing of America and the Old World, innocence and corruption, power and vulnerability. Too bad, then, that Hastings's play, having strung these possibilities along the clothesline, lacks the energy to dry them. We see Tom and Viv as she edits his poems and as they work together on *The Criterion*, but we can never figure out how they fell for each other in the first place. Viv's vivacity doesn't seem that charming. Tom's appeal is easier to grasp, since we enter the theater knowing about him. But it can't be said that we leave with any increase in appreciation. He never gets around to reciting his work, aside from a few lines of smutty doggerel. There are further flaws in *Tom and Viv*—a shapelessness of plot, unconcealed by a fake documentary style—but this one flaw, the failure to present any poetry, is least forgivable. Why do a play about T.S. Eliot if not to glance at the man's work? The effect is

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frustrating. For here is Edward Herrmann as Tom, a marvelously gifted actor, the epitome of intelligence, lanky and long-faced just like Eliot, and surely he could recite some Eliot lines brilliantly. One almost wants to cue him from the audience. "A-pril is the cruelest month . . ." Just a word or two, please. But nothing, not even anyone else's poetry. No Dante, no Shakespeherian Rag. Not even a matching of marriage to *oeuvre*, which might have been interesting. Pfui!

That said, there's something to enjoy in *Tom and Viv*. Max Stafford-Clark, who directed *Top Girls* a couple of years ago, has directed *Tom and Viv* and with his co-workers has made the Public Theater's LuEsther Hall glow with English country life and tea settings and civilized chats about dreadful goings-on. Julie Covington and Margaret Tyzack are a pleasure to watch as Viv and Viv's mum. And there's Herrmann with his expressive hands and those Giacometti postures and his carefully shaded shifting accent, now American, now English, now hovering somewhere over the Atlantic, performing quite as if the script were deep with meaning. Tickets, incidentally, cost $18 or less.

Lately the Soho Rep, where tickets are only $8, has been presenting its own literary play, *The Crimes of Vautrin* by Nicholas Wright, drawn from Balzac's *A Harlot High and Low* (until February 24). Practically the entire novel appears in summary form, which means that twists, turns and untoward events whiz past at an alarming rate. The whizzing is unintentionally laughable in the first act. But after the intermission something about Balzac's cynical conspiracy-minded view of society takes hold. One realizes with mounting horror and astonishment that all of society is manipulated by a single master criminal who is driven mad with homosexual love for young men. The play is performed at a seedy theater in a remote wing of Bellevue Hospital, where, we are informed, an excellent W.P.A. mural and other architectural marvels have been covered up by the authorities. And who are these sinister authorities, one wonders, and what is their real purpose? Whose is the unseen hand? One exits the seedy theater and the semiseedy production having enjoyed oneself thoroughly and recalling that Balzac was the favorite novelist of Karl Marx. □

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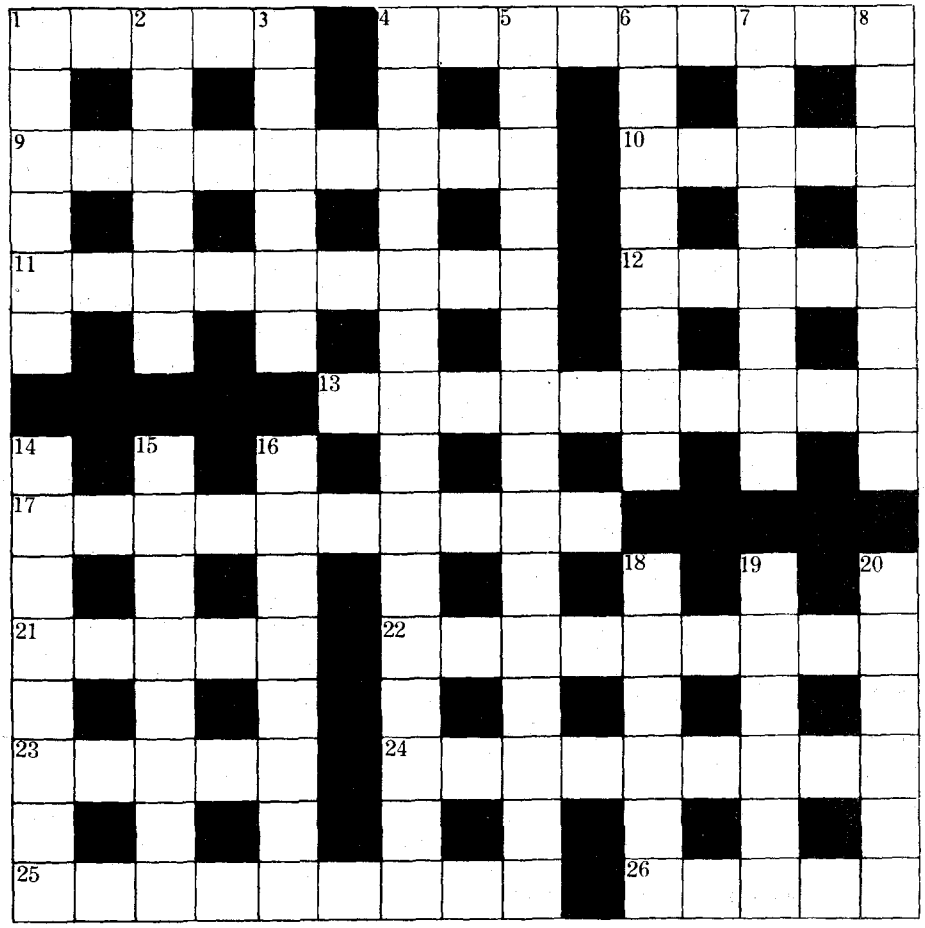
T	■	C	■	B	■	A	■	A	■	X	■	A	■	U
R	O	E	B	U	C	K	■	C	H	I	N	N	E	D
E	■	R	■	R	■	E	■	A	■	T	■	I	■	G
E	S	S	A	Y	■	R	E	L	A	Y	R	A	C	E

LOCAL ONE AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS UNION LABEL X-523

Crossword Puzzle No. 2045

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 20 down
4 The first four letters are confused by Mississippi, for example, with one who makes his living out of 2 down. (3,6)
9 See 20 down
10 Drills? Makes one want to yawn, perhaps! (5)
11 Always the inexperienced type, but growing . . . (9)
12 . . . proving a number deserve to profit by experience. (5)
13 A hole in one with a Hamito-Semitic type? (10)
17 Because of the broken drum, create a lull in the battle, perhaps. (5,5)
21 Males seem to be more disorganized where they tried a lot! (5)
22 Let's hope Baby Bunting's daddy didn't catch it! (9)
23 Where there might be a lot of heat, one might expect an outburst of anger. (5)
24 Sounds like what faulty scales do, as a footpad might. (3,2,4)
25 After a time, sees red, perhaps—but one certainly deserved to get the post! (9)
26 Stray (yes, certainly stray!) goat, in part . . . but with a lot of human qualities, too! (5)

DOWN

1 Counterbalanced the spot the unemployed actor is in. (6)
2 Some might consider it a sex change for the ones reputedly hard to find in stormy weather. (6)
3 Compared to a feast, it's supposed to be good—but one is upset with the sound of displeasure. (6)
4 Not necessarily the companion piece to *Pilgrim's Progress*—but that provided the narration. (10,5)
5 Seeing clubs lose makes the trade school uncertain. (8,7)
6 Lincoln might be surrounded by bad liars, but this one was a real character! (8)
7 To be, as a classic example, with a nominally tiny character—just as I said! (8)
8 Rave about a turned-up nose? (At least sounding this way!) (8)
14 The old, old capital of Palestine describes almost the whole operation! (8)
15 One necessarily did, before flying. (8)
16 Literary character, with the first man having a reputedly venerable following. (4,4)
18 Pictures of part of the royal family, by the sound of it. (6)
19 A couple of points might change the tone of the letters Hans writes! (6)
20, 1 across and 9 across Head hunter? (6,2,3,9)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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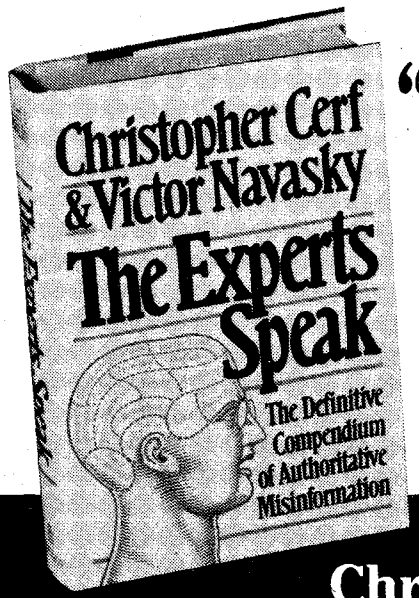

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—Margaret Thatcher (1969)

"There is no reason for any individual to have a computer in their home."
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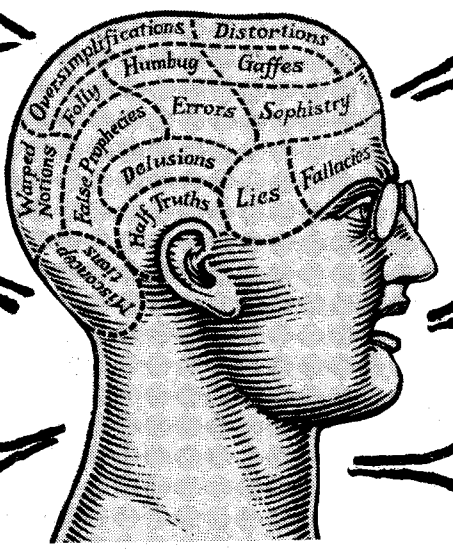

"I don't need bodyguards."
—James Hoffa (1975)

"The thought of being President frightens me. I do not think I want the job."
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